Surára,
Pakidái,
Waica
Shiriana

/9 cont./

142 pouting lips of a mouth that is never too large, there are always
two gleaming rows of sound teeth. Their beautiful, always
straight hair is a very dark brown. They all have a thick head of
hair, but lose it in old age. No bald spot appears, however;
the hair then simply looks as though it had been cut very short all
over the head. Individual men have a thin growth of beard on
[302] either side of the lips and on the chin; occasionally they pluck
out the beard hair. The rest of their body hair is limited to the
pubic region. Women pluck out their pubic hair, as well as their
eyebrows and lashes. Young girls usually have well-formed,
hemispherical, firm breasts, which, however, become slack and
pendulous after the first child, although at that time the women
have often not even reached the age of 18 or 19 years old.

114 These observations parallel the descriptions which Alexander
142 von Humboldt gives of the Waiká (Guaicas) and Guaharibo. He
also describes them as tribes "with whitish skin color and very
small stature." He adds, however, "the shortness of the Guaicas
and the whiteness of the Guaharibos, /10/ whom P. Caulín calls
[141] Guaharibos blancos, are equally exaggerated" (44). The Guaicas
measured by Alexander von Humboldt were "on the average four
feet seven inches to four feet eight inches (according to the old
French measurement)" (44) /see footnote above/, in other words,
about 1.52-1.55 meters. Koch-Grünberg gives the same body height
for the Waiká (Waíka) whom he met in Motomotó on the Uraricuera
and whom he likewise describes as very light-skinned (45). In
[141] another place Koch-Grünberg writes: "The Schirianá and Waíka
of Motomotó were small people, on the average about 1.52 meters
tall. In no case did the height exceed 1.55 meters... Older
people had distended abdomens and thin legs... These people,
who were by nature ugly almost throughout, were even more

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44. A. von Humboldt, 1860, IV, pp. 113 ff.

45. Koch-Grünberg, 1923a, p. 293.

Surára
Pakidái

291 /36 cont./
171 been documented for the men of the Makuxí (193) and Waiwai (194).

193. Farabee, 1924, p. 61.

194. Farabee, 1924, Pl. XXX.

b) Chest cords

301 The simple cord slung crosswise over chest and back --
[192] xinaríke -- and the similarly used string-bundle -- xinarí -- (195)

195. This name is identical with the word for cotton.

represent among the Surára and Pakidái characteristic articles of clothing for the girls and women. Among the latter, the cord or string-bundle runs directly below the breasts and crosses over the chest cavity, so that, at first glance, it looks like a bust support; but no lifting of the breast is connected with it, for it is quite loose (Ill. 10).

[283] [824] Whereas the women's cord, 1.50-1.60 meters long, twisted out of two threads, and knotted at the ends, is made of curauá fibers or cotton (the length of the corresponding girls' cord is 1.20-1.40 meters), in the case of the string bundles there are layers of cotton 56-90 centimeters long, which consist of 60-80 strings and are tied together at one point. The thinner specimens are used by young women and the thicker ones by older women. 386 301 [531] [302] Both the string bundles and the cord are either dyed red all over or, as in the case of the former, for example, are provided with red rings, one centimeter wide, at intervals of 6-7 centimeters (Fig. 13a and b), for which urucú dye is used. Undyed objects in time take on a dirty brown appearance, like the hammocks, for the red body-painting adheres to the cotton.

301 856 The chest cord, which is now and then tied around little girls from four years old on, is supposed to help give them beautifully shaped breasts later on. Even the younger women, however, have

Surara.
Pakidai

/39 cont./

301 This ancient Karaiben /Carib/ custom, which already caught
171 the eye of the early discoverers as something unusual, is also familiar to the Surára and Pakidái, but is regarded by them as very ugly and thus not copied; for the women and girls among these Indians the leg cords are always loose.

301 d) Neck cords and chains of primitive material
789 It is not ornamentation, but magic that is connected with the
832 neck cords and chains of primitive material.

Thus, young men sometimes wear around their necks an
urucú-colored, two-strand curauá-fiber cord twisted to the right,
[824] to which is fastened a small piece of the root of the tajá (Colocasia antiquorum and Xanthosoma violaceum Schott) -- hanrẽ. Love magic is involved here (see p. 242). In order to ward it off, married female members of the tribe use two kinds of neck chains. On their urucú-colored cord of curauá fibers, young women tie numerous small pieces of the root of the tajá -- hanrẽ -- and older ones small bits of the camarau (Cipó sp.) -- hiĩ -- (see p. 243).

302 e) Hair style

Men, women, and children, after the third year of life, have the same hair style -- mabéu -- cut evenly all around
[462] the head, including the tonsure -- hemôno. Shaving the latter, but also cutting the hair are duties of the women, for which they use a piece of reed split and sharpened on one side (taquara -- Guadua sp. --) (see p. 119). At festivals, on the occasion of magical acts, and during war expeditions the tonsure is painted with urucú.

[578] According to statements by my informants, it primarily represents a marking which, for the stick duels that the men occasionally carry out, distinguishes the safest and most resistant part of the head (205). This also explains the scars which one
302 sees on the tonsures of almost all the men. They are also present,
593 however, in the case of female members of the tribe, for if a

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205. Becher, 1959, p. 165.

302 593 /39 cont./
husband beats his wife for reasons of jealousy, he may likewise choose only this marked part of the head. As a further, but
302 825 probably secondary reason, I was told that the short haircut and the tonsure made it easier to control the plague of lice. People with long hair, they thought, were certainly unable to escape head lice.

302 538 The tonsure is also mentioned in religion and mythology. Poré, the lord of the moon, is imagined as an old man with a long white beard and a tonsure painted red (see p. 197).

302 171 184 As among many other South American tribes, the tonsure is also a /40/ characteristic feature of all small-sized light-skinned Indians between the Rio Negro and the upper Orinoco, for the members of both sexes of the Xiriána, Puseheweterí, Aramamesterí, and Karauaterí whom I met also wore it (206).

302 171 114 206. The Brazilian country people designate all Indians with tonsures as Coroados = crowned. Baldus and Willems, however, quite rightly demand that the use of this name be avoided in Brazilian ethnology: "Coroado- Várias tribus de indios no Brasil, por examplo, os Botocudos, Kaingang, Purí, Borôro, receberam do povo o nome de Coroados, devido ao modo de cortar o cabelo, se bem que êsse modo não fosse igual entre todas elas. Causou êste têrmo grande confusão na etnografia brasileira, razão pela qual deve ser abandonada" /Coroado -- Various tribes of Indians in Brazil, for example, the Botocudo, Caingang, Puri, Bororo, are given the name of Coroado by people, owing to the manner of cutting the hair, even though this style is not the same among all of them. This term has caused great confusion in Brazilian ethnography, and for this reason it should be abandoned/ (Baldus and Willems, 1939, p. 67).

Surára
Pakidái

/40 cont./

● 302 184 Furthermore, it has been documented for the Waiká (207) (208), Karime (209), and the Xiriána men on the Motomotó (210). With regard to the latter, Koch-Grünberg points out that in this case it is a male hair style (210) /see footnote above/. In the same 302 171 work he goes on to describe the tonsure of a Karaiben woman: "The oldest woman on the Roroima had a strange hair style. Except for a narrow wreath of longer hair all around her head, which was cut in the customary fashion over the forehead, the head hair was cut short, like a monk's tonsure. (Cf. Vol. VI, Plate 86). I was unable to discover the reason for this differing hair style" (211). The remarks which Alexander von Humboldt devotes to this Indian hair style are also worthy of mention (212).

304 f) Deforming facial ornamentation

The male as well as the female sex among the Surára and Pakidái have pierced ear-lobes -- nhimekakeká -- (Surára), -- nimukakuká -- (Pakidái), a perforation of the lower lip -- husekahá --, and, in addition, the women have such in the corners of the mouth -- kaskehá.

304 301 The perforations are already made in babyhood (see p.135). The men use them primarily as a place for feather ornaments (see p. 93). They sometimes also wear as ear ornaments, however,

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207. Koch-Grünberg, 1917, p. 198.

208. Zerries, 1954b, p. 75.

209. Salathé, 1931/32, p. 305.

210. Koch-Grünberg, 1923a, p. 306.

211. Koch-Grünberg, 1923a, p. 27.

212. A. von Humboldt, 1860, IV, p. 319.

/43 cont./

● 302 174 Since Koch-Grünberg also found only very little body painting among the Xiriána (Schirianá) (235), it is to be suspected that originally it was not peculiar to the three Yanonámi tribes named, but is to be traced back to Karaiben influences. The following account by Alexander von Humboldt also points to this: "The custom," writes the great investigator, "of painting the body is not equally old among all the peoples on the Orinoco. It has only been since the frequent invasions by the mighty nation of the Caraiben into these lands that it has become more general. Victors and vanquished alike were naked, and in order to be agreeable to the victor, one was obliged to paint oneself as he did and to wear his color. Now the might of the Caraiben is past, they are confined to the region between the Carony, Cuyuni, and Paraguamuzi rivers, but the Caraiben custom of coloring the entire body has persisted; the practice is more enduring than the conquest" (236).

301 562 i) Feather ornaments

Feather ornaments -- *pauxí* -- are worn by men only and chiefly on the upper arms, but occasionally also in the perforations of the ear lobes and the lower lip.

301 825 237 Under the upper-arm cords and bands, which serve primarily as fastening devices for the upper-arm ornaments, individual or several tail feathers of the *arara vermelha* (*Ara Macao* L.) -- *pauxí aratexiná* -- as well as small bunches of feathers, are wedged in front for war expeditions and festive occasions. The latter are always tied with a string of cotton or *curauá* fibers to a wooden stick 7-9 centimeters long (Ills. 9 and 14). The following list shows which birds are preferred as feather-suppliers for these objects:

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235. Koch-Grünberg, 1923a, p. 307.

236. A. von Humboldt, 1860, III, pp. 92/93.

Surára
Pakidái

/47 cont./

352 Finally, as the third and most important form, which is used constantly by men, women, and children, both in the maloka as well as during migrations of the tribe, the plaited hammock of cotton -- nyõ (258) -- is to be mentioned (Ills. 28 and 29). Aside from the material, it differs from the two earlier types above all because of the weft. The lengths run between 1.60-2.20 meters, depending on whether they are meant for children or adults. [462] Making them is again the duty of the men, though the women occasionally help a little.

258. The cotton belts are also designated with the same word.

352 286 Before they are made, two posts are rammed into the ground and connected at top and bottom by cross-poles with lianas. The length of the hammock depends on the distance of the latter, for around these cross poles is /Figs. 19 and 20 appear here/ wound the continuous warp thread, the two ends of which are knotted with the warp at the start and finish. This produces front and rear layers of thread, which are united into a single layer by slipping the rear warp threads between the /48/ front ones. After that the plaiting of the double thread is begun, which is done without implements, only with the fingers, from right to left; it should also be mentioned that it is started at the top. All hammocks are plaited with very wide meshes, for the intervals between the individual cross-bindings, which are knotted at the beginning and end, are 8-12 centimeters. To fasten the hammocks ropes of [824] Bromelia fibers (curauá) are used, which, made of four strands, braidlike, are twisted to the right.

352 When a hammock has been used for some time, it gradually takes on a dirty-brown appearance. This comes about because ● [302] the urucú color with which the Indians frequently paint their bodies rubs off on it somewhat when they lie down and adheres to the cotton.

/55 cont./

412 knives are sometimes bound to a pointed wooden handle. This
184 strengthening, however, certainly was not added later, but rather is simply the shaft which the Xiriãna, unlike the Surãra and Pakidãi, mount on their arrow points (see p. 43).

412 For cutting hair and shearing off the tonsure, decidedly
462 women's work, a split piece of reed sharpened on one side
302 (taquara -- Guadua sp.) is used.

412 Such "knives" are also widespread among the South American Indians; Prince zu Wied-Neuwied documents them for the
171 Botokuden (307).

307. Prince zu Wied-Neuwied, 1821, p. 9.

412 Another important tool is the eyetooth from the lower jaw
237 of the wild pig -- manacoauã --, with the inner edge of which the men smooth their bows.

[184] This tool is also used for the same purpose by the Waikã (308).

308. Schuster, 1958b, p. 17.

412 For work in the fields the men use a digging stick somewhat
[192] flattened at the lower end and 2-2.20 centimeters long --
[824] namunamutehĩ --, which they make out of the hard wood of the pupunha palm (Guilielma speciosa Mart.); as a substitute they also occasionally use an old, broken bow-staff.

[184] Zerries also observed the latter practice among the Waikã (309).

309. Zerries, 1956b, p. 153.

413 A piece of round wood from the trunk of the pupunha palm
462 should also be mentioned; it is used by the women as a bast beater -- xamotimã (see also pp. 112/114).

412 This exhausts the use of primitive tools. Even in olden
177 times, there were certainly not many more. During my stay among the two tribes, however, I saw them already using steel axes, as well as terçados (large bush-knives) and small knives.

Surára, Pakidái

/*64 cont.*/
553 high mountain ridges -- *hekurá* --, who represent the intermedi-
776 aries to Poré and Perimbó, the joint Supreme Being of these
[782] Indians (see pp.197/199). The particular animal or plant whose name a child bears is regarded as a sort of "*spiritus familiaris*"
[777] throughout its life. This is linked to the idea that the fate of the child has now become identical in essence with them; that is to say, good fortune, but also the suffering and dying of animals and plants are transferred to the like-named human beings.

553 The use of animal names corresponds to the nagualistic
114 ideas and customs which Eduard Seler mentions in his monograph
191 /*65*/ on Michuacan /Michoacán/ (326), while plant names are also included under the same aspect by the Surára and Pakidái. The name "nagual," according to Seler, is derived from the Aztec word *naualli* = disguise (327). In place of nagualism, however, the technical term "tonalism" may also be used (Aztec *tonalli* = someone's destiny, fate, soul, spirit...) (328).

553 On the day of the name-giving the children are given a
302 tonsure such as is worn by all adults of both sexes. It is shaved
[412] off with the sharpened side of a split piece of reed (*taquara* --
[824] *Guadua* sp.). Simultaneously they are attired for the first time in
553 the hip cord of cotton or plant fibers, which they may then never remove
291 up to the end of their lives, not even while bathing or during sleep. The cord must, of course, be renewed occasionally, but this is done in all secrecy. At the time of the donning of the hip cord by little boys, the penis is tied up, with the preputium held fast under
[834] the cord by means of a loop (Ill. 22). From now on the penis must no longer hang down, for this would be an offense against good
[292] form. On festive occasions a belt of cotton is also tied around children (see pp. 64ff.).

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326. Seler, 1908, pp. 104/05.

327. Seler, 1904, pp. 75/76.

328. Haekel, 1958, p. 45.

Surára
Pakidái

/66 cont./

595 The Surára chief has two wives, a third one died, and the
Pakidái chief, who is still comparatively young, has one. Vari-
587 ous other men also have two or more wives. If the husband dies,
these women, without being able to decide for themselves, are
taken on, along with their children, by one of his brothers, the
younger one as a rule, even if he is already married.

835 Bachelors have the right to sexual intercourse with the wives
of their older brothers, and thus the children of these women do
not call them uncle, but likewise father.

881 h) Puberty rites for girls

At nine to ten years old, the Surára and Pakidái children
have already reached maturity, which is probably related to the
fact that these Indians live in the hot, humid rain forests of the
equatorial zone. There are no initiation rites for boys. A girl,
● [302] on the other hand, at the onset of her first period, is kept isolated
in a circular pen 3-4 meters in diameter, which is erected a short
distance from the maloka; her entire body is painted with urucú,
a red plant pigment. Here the little one must sit motionless and
receives only once a day from her mother a calabash of banana
soup and a second one of water. In the evening she is brought into
the communal house, so that she can lie down to sleep there, but
neither parents and siblings nor other members of the tribe may
881 speak to her. The next morning she is put back in the pen. Dur-
304 ing the second day her mother or another woman applies a pin-
point tattoo above her upper lip, which extends downward on either
[413] side of the mouth to the chin. The tattooing instrument is a
[824] pointed thorn of the pupunha palm. This is dipped into the dirty-
[386] gray juice of the genipap fruit, which, after the skin is punctured,
leaves a dark blue dot. This procedure is extremely painful for the
[147] little girls. Yet they bear it with passive faces, suppress their tears,
and do not utter a sound. With this tattooing, all the evil, mysteri-
ous forces which are in the menstrual blood, and which might bring
danger to the husband, are banished for the rest of a woman's life.
881 With the second onset of the period, too, a girl is again isolated,
and after that a small celebration takes place.

Surara
Pakidái

/66 cont./
000 and after that a small celebration takes place. Later the women
841 do not make any arrangements for concealing the monthly bleeding
from the eyes of the other /67/ members of the tribe, including
the children. They do avoid walking about a great deal during
these days, and, if the blood flows too copiously, they sit on the
bank of the nearby river or brook.

i) Initiation rites for young men

884 All young men who have reached the age of approximately
132 20 years must submit to an initiation rite. It always takes place
at the beginning of the dry season, between October and December,
halfway between their winter quarters and the large, open
maloka where the two tribes spend the summer together and cele-
884 brate the great festival in memory of the dead. In an inter-
86 mediate camp of this type (for a description of the intermediate
camp of the Surára, see p. 23) two young men are always trained
for two months by the chief and an experienced helper (Hewemão
and his brother Kurikayawõ among the Surára; Karenauõ and the
war chief Poréhiwõ among the Pakidái) in all matters of religion,
magic, mythology, curing the sick, and tribal tradition. Only
after that are they regarded as full members of their community
and from then on may independently undertake cures and prayers.
It should be mentioned that for each sickness there are definite
[782] melodies, texts, and dance steps. The same is true of the prayers
with which the individual men address the gigantic animal and
plant spirits (hekurá, see p. 200) before and after a journey, after
slaying a large game animal, before planting a roça (forest clear-
[276] ing), after a successful harvest, etc. All these magic practices,
however, may take place only in the snuff-powder intoxication
(see p. 201).

During the training the candidates may not speak to any
member of the tribe; during this time they are regarded as dead
884 and after two months achieve an initiatory rebirth. Purely ex-
302 ternally, one recognizes the two candidates by their body painting,
825 which consists of six vertical serpentine lines drawn with urucú
86 on abdomen and chest. These lines are a symbolic representa-
tion of the surucucu (Lachesis muta L.), the most dangerous

Surára
Pakidái

884 /67 cont./
86 poisonous snake of South America, which is over three meters
[302] long. The painting is supposed to help to banish the dangers that
[825] emanate from this and other poisonous snakes. As daily nourish-
[262] ment the two candidates may take only a ripe banana and half a
liter of water. After two months they are very thin and appear to
[276] be nothing but skin and bones. In order to suppress their feeling
of hunger and thirst, they constantly have the roll of tobacco
mixed with water and ashes between their lower or upper lip and
[782] teeth (see p.190). Moreover, they must blow large pinches of
the snuff-powder into each other's noses several times a day in
[276] order to make contact with the gigantic animal and plant spirits --
hekurá. Thus, they pass their training period in a regular trance-state.

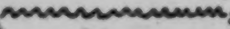
884 It is worth noting that the initiation rites of the male members
756 of the tribe take place comparatively late, and that in this way
776 all the men are gradually trained as medicine-man helpers.
Through this, the Surára chief Hewemão explained to me, they
are able to protect themselves and their families against sickness
and accidents in an emergency. If, for example, a man is
threatened along the way by a poisonous snake or a jaguar, he is
now in a position to banish the danger by calling upon the tutelary
spirits. He must never fail to thank the hekurá after a successful
hunting expedition or a good harvest, however, for otherwise he
755 would incur their anger. Even when his wife, one of his children,
[753] or a relative falls ill, he himself must first try, by means of song
and dance in which he addresses the hekurá, to hurl the sickness
back to the hostile tribe from which it was sent. Only if his efforts
remain unsuccessful may he appeal for the aid of the chief, who
is always willing and, with the help of 8-9 assistants, carries out a
great rekurá (cure). Thus, during the day /68/ or at night among
the Surára and Pakidái one frequently sees one man, or often even
several men, praying or attempting to cure a member of the
[276] family. Before that, however, they must take snuff-powder because
contact with the hekurá can be made only in a state of intoxica-
[533] tion. The songs are somewhat monotonous and are combined with
animal sounds, animal movements, such as the beating of wings,
hopping, etc.

Pakidái

/70 cont./

764 Among the Pakidái I was able to be present on the sad occasion of a burial ceremony for the young, vigorous, and happy Hokotómarimá, an unmarried youth whose age was 19 years at [752] most. He had fallen from the top of a pupunha palm (Guilielma speciosa Mart.) (the liana lashing of his climbing apparatus, see p. 121, had evidently not been firm enough) and must have suffered internal injuries. All the efforts to save him, which were carried out uninterruptedly by the chief and his helpers for two days and nights, were unsuccessful.

● [302] After the dead Hokotómarimá had been pushed into the wooden frame, five warriors whose bodies were painted all over with urucú carried him out of the maloka, amid loud lamentations. Two men carried the frame, one in front and one in back; now and then they were relieved by their companions. The women of his kin group, in part with children on their hips or by the hand, accompanied him, amid heart-rending, shrill tones of lament and endlessly flowing tears, on this last journey to the edge of the forest. Then the five men went on alone with the deceased. (The chief did not take part; he would do so only if the deceased were a relative.) After a walk of about 20 minutes, they suddenly stopped, set down the frame, and selected a suitable tree, in order to hang it in the crown. When they had found it, in this case a tall imbauba tree (Cecropia palmata Wild.) -- tokorí --, two men climbed up, each with two long lianas (cipó-titica) hanging around their necks. They chose a particularly thick limb, then lowered the lianas, where their companions tied them to the wooden frame, and pulled it up with the dead man lying in it. When the frame was hanging firmly and securely on the branch, they climbed down again.

[551] Immediately thereafter the five men started back to the maloka. On the way, however, the brother of the deceased cut into a tree, the name of which the deceased bore -- hokotómarimá -- matamatazeiro (Eschweilera matamata Hub.), with his tercado (large bush-knife) and in the lower part of the trunk, deep notches which had the following appearance  and extended around the entire trunk. This was supposed to make the tree die.

Surára, Pakidai

619 648 721 /74 cont./

extent (339), and friendly tribal units are therefore in a connubium.

In time, however, strong ties of kinship again develop here, so that finally, and also as a result of the preference for polygyny, there is a real shortage of women, which is felt very painfully by the 726 men as yet unmarried (340). For this reason, as I was told by informants, they now and then make raids on hostile tribes, which [619] take place at dawn without any declaration of war (341). Surára and Pakidái warriors, however, must also take part in raids proposed [624] [622] by the Xiriána. They are always led by the war chief (the chief, his brother, and sons do not take part in military actions (see p. 129), nor do women (342)), and they set out on the day before the proposed raid. ● [302] All the participants paint horizontal serpentine lines on their bodies and faces with urucú. This is the typical war painting, for in peacetimes the serpentine lines are always applied vertically (343). In the vicinity of the hostile maloka they

339. Zerries reports the same thing about the Waiká (Zerries, 1956a, p. 186).

[835] 340. The fact that for younger, unmarried men sexual intercourse with the wives of their older brothers is permitted may be connected with this.

[171] 341. The descriptions of the war expeditions of the Karaiben /Carib/ which Richard Schomburgk (Richard Schomburgh, 1848, II, p. 321) and Appun (Appun, 1871, p. 447) write sound very similar.

[171] 342. Richard Schomburgk and Koch-Grünberg report that among a few Karaiben tribes women take part in war expeditions as porters. (Richard Schomburgk, 1848, II, p. 322; Koch-Grünberg, 1923a, p. 103).

343. With reference to the Karaiben, too,

Surára
Pakidái

726 /74 cont./

[771]
[302]

343 (cont.)
Richard Schomburgk points out that their body painting in wartime differs from that of peacetimes. (Richard Schomburgk, 1848, II, page 322).

spend the night quietly, while a few scouts reconnoiter the
[276] position. At dawn the warriors blow large quantities of snuff into each other's noses and then, completely unfettered, but in all
[727] silence they storm the hostile maloka. Men and boys are killed ruthlessly with arrow shots, and the women and children are dragged off as captives. But the attackers, too, often have to suffer great losses, and it is said that they are sometimes put to flight.

726
727 During my stay among the Surára, I heard of an attack by the Xiriána and allied warriors on a maloka of the Waiká on the Rio Mapulau, a left tributary of the upper Demini (see p. 16). On this occasion, as I was told, all the Waiká men were killed, and the women and girls were brought to the Xiriána maloka as captives. The head of the Waiká chief, as the war chief of the Surára added, was then adorned with feathers by the Xiriána and left standing in front of their community house for several days
727 as a trophy; after that it was thrown away (344). The night after

344. The Hório and Ebidoso in the northeastern Chaco, who occasionally behave in a similar way, are to be referred to as a parallel (Baldus, 1931, p. 73).

the attack there was a big dance festival, in which all the men
[276] took part. Before that they took snuff and prayed to the hekurá
[782] (see p.199), in order to thank them for the victory.

/97 cont./

755 the chief even asked me to give the patients "penicilina" after
[759] his healing efforts had again brought no success.

[123] Of the various cures at which I was allowed to be present,
[177] I should like to describe in detail the following two treatments:

b) Magic cure (rekurã) for Xunamĩ:

Xunamĩ, the young, pretty wife of Kurikayawõ, fell ill quite suddenly. She had a high fever, lay apathetically in her hammock, and complained of severe chest pains. Her husband, [593] who, with touching devotion, remained with her throughout the first day, that is, he sat beside her or lay in his hammock, led [759] her several times to the nearby small river, in which she always remained for some time and drank copious amounts. She was not permitted to eat anything, but she had no desire to do so. During the night, the fever seemed to climb, for she was quite delirious and unable to sleep soundly. The next day she felt [759] even worse. Three times in the forenoon and as often in the afternoon her husband took her to the river, but there was no improvement after the baths and the drinking. At noon on the third day the husband, together with two other men, began ● [302] the first special cure. First of all, Kurikayawõ and the second participant painted serpentine lines on their faces and bodies with urucú, while the third one rubbed himself all over with soot. Then they all three blew snuff-powder into each other's noses and in a few minutes they were in a state of ecstasy in which they leaped wildly about the sick woman lying in her hammock, shouted loudly, and gesticulated. Then, however, the cure followed very definite directions. The man painted completely black symbolically represented the spirit of sickness -- nonexĩ -- whom a hostile medicine man had conjured into the body of the sick woman, and the other two men, who now identified themselves with the hekurã (see p. 200), staged a sham battle against him. At first they were armed with large sticks and beat "nonexĩ" in order to kill him. But he defended himself with all his might. Then he hurled arrows at him, which, however, he threw back. After that the /98/ spirit of sickness stuck a carrying basket on his head, and this suddenly fell off. At once, the other two men

/100 cont./

755 was much worse, that this time the power of the Waikã medicine
123 men was extraordinarily great. I then proposed to him that I
177 should give Xunamĩ penicillin injections. After lengthy consultations with the husband and other male members of the tribe he consented, though with misgivings, and luck was with the patient as well as with me. From this moment on the name penicilina (Portuguese spelling) became a magic word, for it had helped to cast away the sickness. Hewemão even asked me to bring him a great deal of it on my next visit.

755 c) Magic cure (rekurã) for Xanimã:

Xanimã, the approximately 47-year-old mother of
[164] Anyarawõ (see p. 126), had been ill for five days with chicken pox and had had persistently high fever. At first she, too, was
[757] given the water cures, that is, she constantly had to take baths in the river and drink a great deal of water; as her weakness increased, she remained lying in her hammock and was doused with cold water. After that there were sham battles between two "hekurã" and the bad, black-colored spirit of sickness, "nonexĩ."

When there was no improvement, Chief Hewemão and eight helpers again arranged a large, nocturnal rekurã, but this time a somewhat different one, because, of course, a different
[302] sickness was involved (502). At first the men, eight with red serpentine lines painted on their faces and bodies and one colored black, in the light of the hearth, again formed a circle around the large clay plate standing in the middle, on which snuff-
[296] powder had been poured. They filled their snuff tubes with generous amounts of it and blew it into each other's noses, whereupon, after a few minutes, the state of ecstasy set in. The men hopped around their own axis several times, and, after a hissing sound on the part of the chief and with prolonged shrill

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502. As has been mentioned above (see p. 212), every sickness has very definite texts, melodies, and dance steps.

Surára
Pakidái

/104 cont./

769 788 Immediately after that the Surára chief squatted down at his hearth, and beside him squatted a medicine-man helper. On the opposite side of the large maloka the Pakidái chief and a helper had assumed the same position. Hewemão, the first-named chief, began to speak loudly and distinctly to the hekurá (gigantic animal and plant spirits). While doing so, he kept stroking his hair from front to back and then slapping his seat. The helper squatting beside him repeated each of his words and copied all his movements. (This was to express symbolically that the hekurá, the intermediaries between human beings and the united Supreme Being, Poré/Perimbó, actually pass on all questions, requests, and wishes). After Hewemão, the Pakidái chief spoke to the hekurá, and his helper likewise repeated each word and imitated the gestures (stroking the hair and slapping the seat). This exorcism, which the two chiefs carried out alternately, lasted an hour.

769 461 After that the two exhausted chiefs and the rest of the men, young men, and boys lay down for a well-earned rest. /105/ Meanwhile the women had been going about their accustomed activity. They fetched water, prepared food, took care of the children; some of them also plaited a basket in the meantime, or they strung glass beads on a string. Some of the men who had meanwhile awakened continued to lie idly in their hammocks, some also played with the children, while others sat together in groups and talked.

769 [302] [301] Toward 2:00 the festival was resumed when 20 men, young men, and boys, each of whom held an arrow in his hand, rushed into the maloka courtyard with loud shouts. They were magnificently painted (510) and on the upper arms and in part

510. The painting had been done with urucú color and consisted of serpentine lines, circles and dots; several men, however, had painted their whole bodies red.

Surára
Pakidái

/105 cont./

769 in the ear lobes were adorned with colorful feather ornaments
● [302] (see pp. 93/95). Moreover, they had all glued into their hair
[301] the white down feathers of the gavião-real (Thrasaetus harpyia L.), the dreaded carrier of sickness (see p. 211) (Ill. 43). They
769 made mighty leaps, then bent their knees, turned around
535 several times in between, threw their arrows into the air and
533 caught them again. After that they fell into a dance in step, during which they sang. But this dance was constantly interrupted by wild charges and rousing shouts, which were supposed to drive the nonexí out of the maloka and show them how dangerous it was to come here at all. The others present were enthusiastically watching this performance from their hearths. For the
[302] occasion of the festival all the men, women, and children had
[292] likewise painted themselves and in part donned the cotton belts;
[301] moreover, the men wore their upper-arm ornaments of feathers (Ills. 9-11).

769 After this two-hour dance performance a particularly solemn ceremony took place, the blessing of the preserved bone ashes of deceased tribesmen. For this purpose two leading personalities of each of the two tribes sat down in a square formation before the chief's hut. The Surára chief Hewemão was squatting in such a way that he faced the maloka courtyard. To the right and left of him, somewhat to the side and forward, squatted the Pakidái chief, Karenauõ, and Hewemão's brother, Kurikayawõ, respectively, and opposite Hewemão, Porẽhiwõ, the war chief of the Pakidái, had his place. In front of the latter were arranged ten small jamaru vessels (jamaru = Cucurbita idolatrica Lacerda) filled with bone ashes. Behind them stood one empty gourd bowl and one filled with urucú. The Pakidái chief, Karenauõ, on the other hand, had two large empty jamaru vessels standing in front of him.

Porẽhiwõ now poured bone ashes from one after another of the small jamaru vessels into the empty gourd bowls, added a little urucú, mixed the two with his hands, and gave the bowl to Karenauõ, who each time poured the contents into one of the
[782] larger jamaru vessels. While the two Pakidái were silently per-
[788] forming their work, Hewemão was praying in a half-singing

Surára
Pakidái

/105 cont./

769 voice to the hekurá and constantly passed his hands from his head
[782] to his feet. His brother Kurikayawõ repeated each of his words
[788] and imitated the gestures (511). Around the four men, who were
now officiating as priests, crouched red-painted warriors whose
head hair was completely covered with the down feathers of the
gavião-real. Whenever the Pakidái chief poured a new mixture
of bone ashes and urucú into a larger jamaru vessel, he always
pulled a few feathers from the heads of the warriors and threw
them in (512). The closest relatives of the late deceased sat
behind the warriors and sobbed heart-rendingly, especially the
[782] women. Their tears /106/ flowed uninterruptedly, and at the
same time they prayed in a low, singing cadence. When the
bone ashes of another jamaru vessel were mixed with urucú by
Poréhiwõ, their sobbing and their prayers changed to high, shrill
tones. This made no impression upon the medicine men, however, who imperturbably went on with their activity. The
● [302] mourners were surrounded by a circle of standing warriors painted
[301] red and adorned with upper-arm feathers, who held bows and
arrows in their hands and faced outward. It was their task to shield
the ceremony against harmful outside influences. Behind them
[522] stood numerous male spectators, who followed the proceedings
with interest, to be sure, but without inner participation, for
at times they laughed and joked.

511. This was again the symbolic transmission of the prayers from the hekurá to Poré/Perimbó (see also p. 228).

[751] 512. There is defensive magic connected with this. For if the men, in the subsequent ceremonial drinking of the banana soup mixed with bone ashes, swallow these feathers, they and their families are better protected against sickness.

Surára
Pakidái

/106 cont./

769 On the next day, April 6, 1956, the festival reached its
266 climax. Toward 9:00 the Surára chief, his brother Kurikayawö,
and the chief and war chief of the Pakidái sat down around the
pots of banana soup, in front of which also stood the two *jamaru*
vessels with the bone ashes of the deceased, and all the other
[533] male members of the tribe sat around them. The Surára chief
started to pray loudly, whereupon a rather long choral song
was struck up. Then he poured the bone ashes into all the soup
pots, mixed them thoroughly with his hands, and scooped out
a calabash full for himself, which he emptied hastily and to
the last drop. Thereupon the Pakidái chief, the brother of
Hewemão, and the war chiefs of both tribes drank, followed by
all the older and younger men, including the larger boys, who
drank last (514). As a result of this ceremonial drinking of the
bone ashes, it is believed, the strength and spirit of the de-
769 ceased will remain within the tribe and contribute to its vigor.

[533] Following this drink, a prayer of thanksgiving was sung.
[782] Then the men, youths, and boys together ate large quantities
/107/ of the roasted tapir meat, as well as manioc flat-cakes,
[262] and after that the women handed them calabashes full of the
refreshing drink made of pupunha fruits.

Invigorated and fortified with the powers of the deceased,
the men were now able to proceed with the most strenuous part
[302] of the festival. But before this began, half of them blackened
their faces and bodies with soot, which they scraped off of their
769 cooking pots. Meanwhile others had again set in the center of
276 the *maloka* circle the large clay plate upon which they poured
the brownish snuff-powder -- *epená* --, out of bamboo containers, and in front of the plate they laid a large number of

[123] 514. Hewemão also offered my servant and me a full calabash each, along with the war chiefs. When we had drunk them, he slapped our backs appreciatively and said that we were now true Surára.

Surára
Pakidái

/110 cont./

527 Between the patapáanomão festivals the Surára and Pakidái have only a few other festivities in the course of the year. These are but small celebrations, which, for example, take place after the two-months' training of two young men as medicine-man helpers, after a successful war-expedition, upon moving into a newly erected maloka, and in connection with the second menstruation of a girl. The latter has more of an intimate character, for only families of relatives and friends take part in it.

4. Magic for Sickness, Hunting, Love, and Rain

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825

a) Magic for sickness:

[824] A magic powder is occasionally prepared from the bark ashes of a wild mimosa species (Mimosa acacioides?) -- hekuráhihená -- (see also p. 192) and the bone powder of the gavião-real (Thrasaetus harpyia L.). In the evening, shortly before twilight sets in, if a gavião-real happens to be flying by or is sitting on a tree, the chief blows this powder in the direction of the bird. The latter receives it and with it transmits sickness to a specific hostile tribe.

224
789

b) Hunting magic:

[782] The evening before a proposed hunting expedition the hunter takes snuff-powder and prays for about 2-3 hours to the hekurá (see pp. 200/201), whereby through them he requests [302] Poré and Perimbó (see p. 197) for a successful outcome. Then, before he sets out the next morning, he paints serpentine lines [825] on his face and body with urucú. If his wife accompanies him, she also applies this design, and the snout and feet of a dog that is taken along are painted with the same color. This is [751] supposed to increase the luck of the hunt and is at the same time bound up with defensive magic against possible dangers threatened by poisonous snakes and jaguars.

Surára
Pakidái

/112 cont./

789 it is not needed, for example, before hunting expeditions or
[821] during a tribal migration. In this case all the men, women,
● [302] and children paint their bodies with a confusion of serpentine
lines, in order by this means to command the rain to stop. If
526 this does not help, a tug of war -- toĉtotó -- with a thick liana
789 is arranged. This liana personifies the sucuriju (Eunectes murinus) --
[776] uaïkonyá -- which, as a strong water-animal, has the power to
induce Poré to stop shaking the rain tree (see p. 199). At first
only two groups of red-painted men engage in the tug of war.
But if the rain simply will not abate, red-painted women also
take part in it. Their participation is supposed to increase the
[776] pressure on the sucuriju, for it is assumed that it is of the female
sex and thus particularly well-disposed toward women. Such a
[857] tug of war often goes on for several hours. In most cases, be-
sides adults, I also saw children who imitated it with a thin liana.

526 If it happens to rain while the sun is shining, the Surára
789 and Pakidái believe that a serious fight has broken out between
821 the moon, from which the rain comes, and the sun. Then all
the members of the tribe feel obligated to come to the aid of
their Supreme Being, the moon. They do this by again forming
two mixed groups of men and women -- one symbolically rep-
resents the population of the moon and the other that of the sun --
who throw wet earth at each other; this "battle" is called xejejó.

782 5. A Special Way of Showing Gratitude to Poré and Perimbó

In connection with the festival in memory of the dead (see
pp. 224 ff.) after the training period of the two medicine-man
helpers (see pp. 143 f.), after the curing of the sick (see pp.
211 ff.), and other magic ceremonies, the people want to thank
Poré and Perimbó (see p. 197) in a special way, outside of the
customary prayers which take place through the hekurá (see pp.
199/201). For this purpose a large calabash is filled with earth,
[824] into which, in a circle, are stuck red-painted twigs of the
imbauba tree (Cecropia palmata Wild.), which are connected

Surára

/5/

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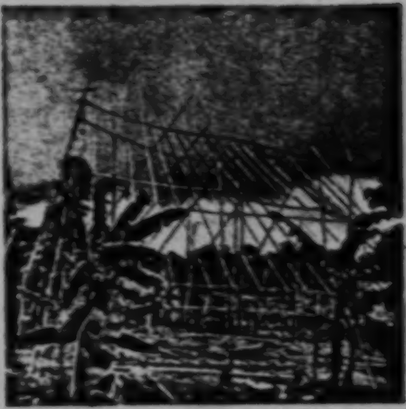

Ill. 8. Construction of the closed Surára maloka at the Cachoeira dos Índios (upper Rio Aracá)

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Ill. 9. Hewemao, the Surára chief (adorned for the festival in memory of the dead)

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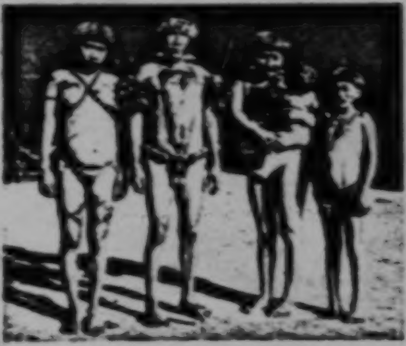

Ill. 10. The Surára chief Hewemão with both of his wives and two children

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Ill. 11. Kurikayawo, the younger brother of the Surára chief

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Suraro
Pakidái

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Ill. 12. Surára warriors

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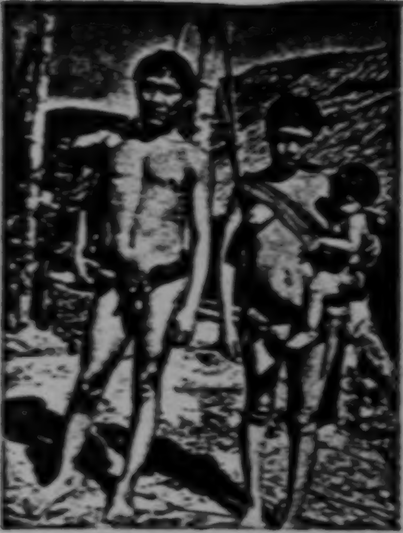
Ill. 13. Surára warrior before shooting an arrow

Ill. 14. Poréhjiwõ, war chief of the Pakidái, in festive adornment

Surára
Shiriana
Karauateri
Pusehoweteri

/7/



Ill. 15. Surára family. (The woman is a member of the Pusehowetert and wears the characteristic fringed belt of this tribe)

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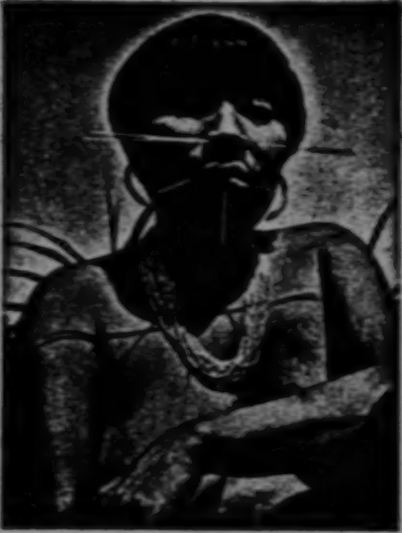

Ill. 16. Xiriána woman, Ironasterí, with deforming facial adornment

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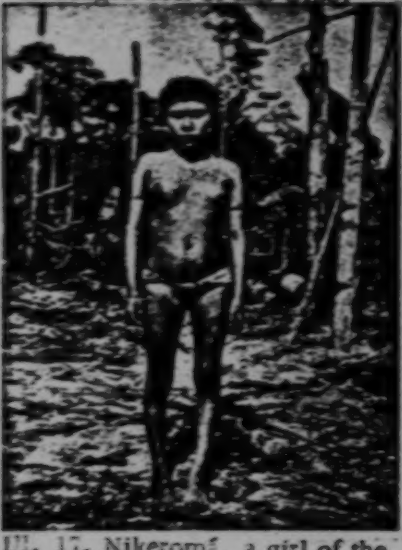

Ill. 17. Nikeromá, a girl of the hostile Karauaterí. (She is a captive of the Surára)

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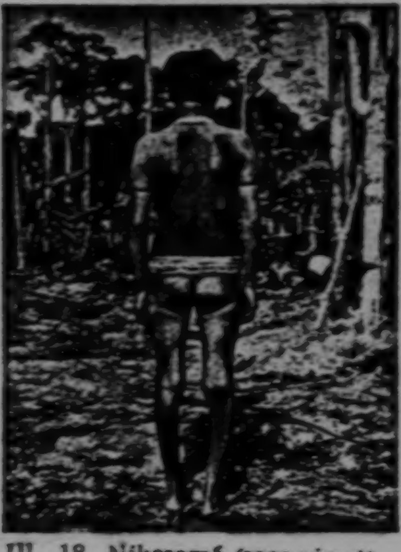

Ill. 18. Nikeromá (rear view!)

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Ill. 19. Yaxoíma, daughter of the war chief of the Surára, with characteristic facial tattooing

Ill. 20. Yaxoíma (left) and Rokoahíma, two Surára girls

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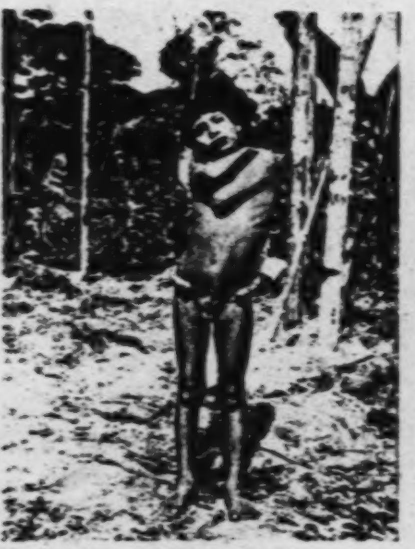
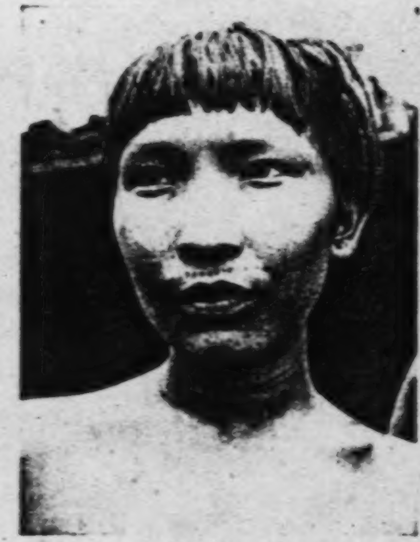
Ill. 21. Jibeauwõ, my little interpreter (right), and Mauahemã (two orphan boys from the tribe of the Surára)

Ill. 22. Two Surára boys. Xaniw
(right) and Mauahemã, who hold
a monkey bladder between his le

Surára,
Pakidâi



Ill. 23. The Surára boy Xaniwõ



Ill. 24. Pakidâi woman, Riopemí

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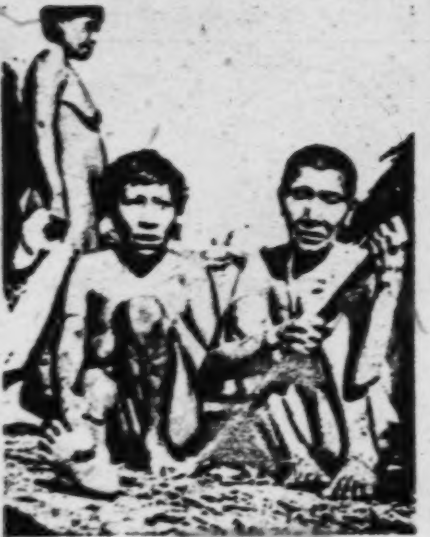
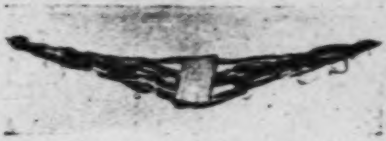


Ill. 25. The two oldest Surára women: Rokomá (right and Cinapemí



Ill. 26. Hammock of embira

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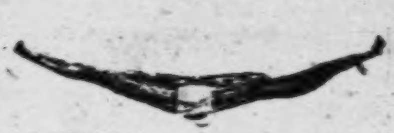

Ill. 27. Liana hammock

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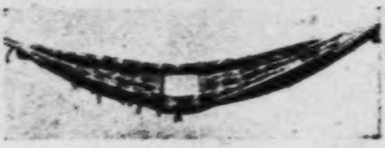

Ill. 28. Plaited hammock of cotton

Surára
Pakidái

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Ill. 29. Pakidâi woman with baby in a cotton hammock

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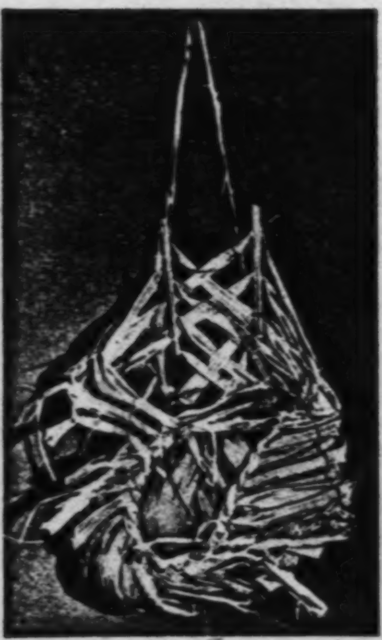
Ill. 30. Sleeping place for young dogs ("dog bed")

Ill. 31. Pakidâi Indian making fire

Surára
Pakidái



Ill. 32. Temporary carrying basket of palm leaves

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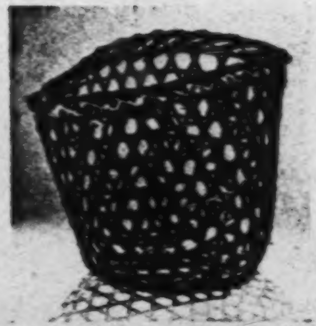

Ill. 33. Carrying basket of bast strips from the curauá plant

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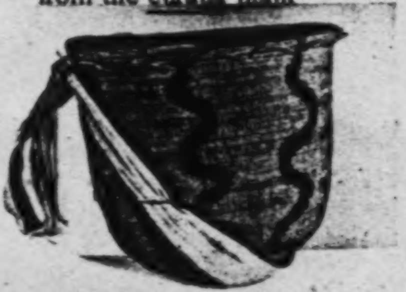
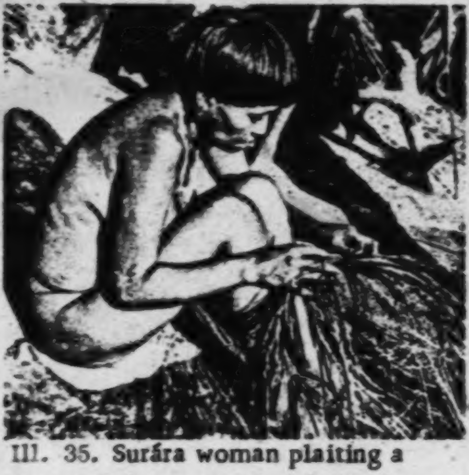


Ill. 34. Woman's large carrying-basket made of liana strips



Ill. 35. Surára woman plaiting a woman's large carrying-basket

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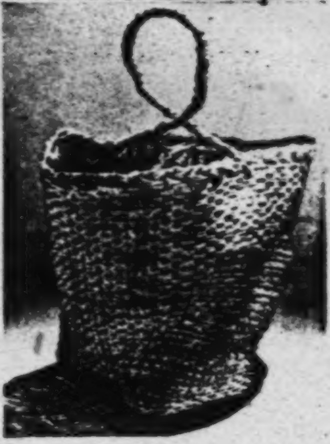

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Ill. 36. Small basket with handle, made of liana strips

Surára
Pakidái

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Ill. 37. Surára forest clearing in a circle around the large, open maloka

Ill. 38. The Surára chief Hewemao doing field work. He is holding a digging stick in his left hand.

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Ill. 39. Climbing a pupunha palm with the help of climbing apparatus

Ill. 40. Poréhiwõ, war chief of the Pakidái (right), and my guide, Mateus Dias, a pure-blooded Tukano Indian from the upper Rio Negro. A Pakidái youth is squatting in the background.

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/13/
Surára
Pakidái

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Ill. 41. Pakidái Indian with tobacco roll between lower lip and teeth.

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Ill. 42. The Surára and Pakidái men assemble during the festival in memory of the dead for the ceremonial drinking of the banana soup which is mixed with bone ashes of deceased members of the tribe,

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Ill. 43. A dance of the Surára warriors. (Chief Hewemão is sitting at the left in the foreground.)

Surára
Pakidái

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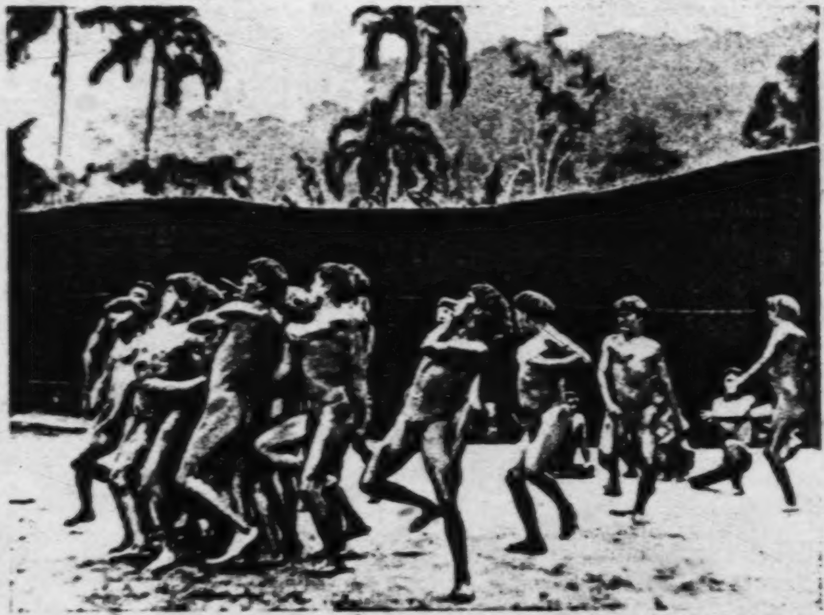

Ill. 46. Height of ecstasy

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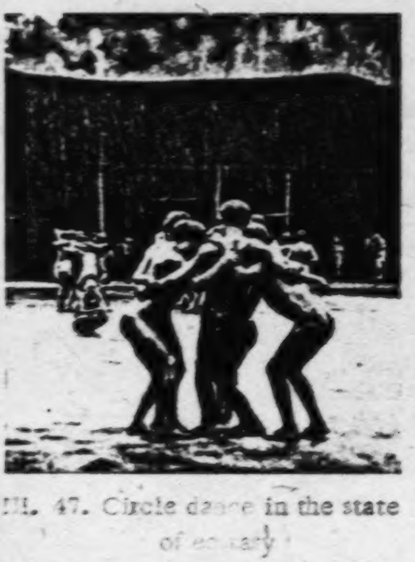
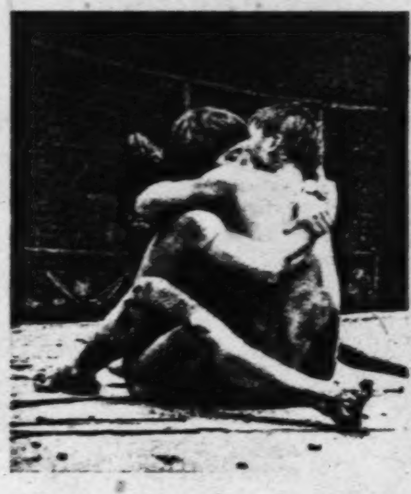


Ill. 47. Circle dance in the state of ecstasy



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Ill. 48. Petapoanhamú -- the embracing-combat performed in a sitting position

/203 cont./
291 Fig. 11) for the Surará and Pakidai (cf. Koch-Grünberg, 1923,
301 Pl. 45). As adornment the girls sometimes wear cords on their
237 arms and legs or bands across their chests. White and multi-
colored feathers are frequently tied to these cords or bands by the
531 women as much as by the men. The women paint various
302 geometric figures on their bodies, and we observed a typical de-
[386] sign in zigzag form which the women wore on their cheeks. The
pigment was red (made from onoto) or blue, made from a fruit
which the Sanemá call taarimóg, with which the women paint
one another's cheeks. The design is the same as the one which
they on occasion paint on the stones which surround the camp
and which was identified with the path of the sun and of the
moon. They say that the sun is happy /204/ to see these designs.
A very similar design which we saw on the face of a woman was
interpreted for us as "path of the moon." We were not able to
verify with any certainty whether some relationship between
menstruation and this design exists for them.

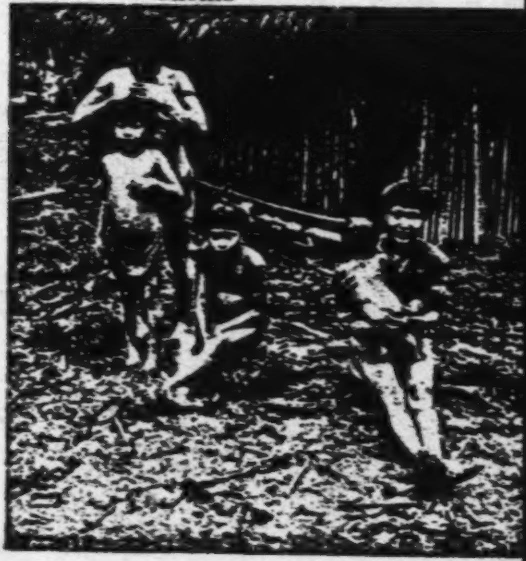
721 Before entering upon belligerent relations with an enemy,
302 the warriors paint their bodies with onoto. They believe that
[789] this practice assures good aim and protects them from the arrows
[624] of the enemy. As we have mentioned before, in time of war the
Sanemá take orders from a war chief who is different from the
one who is in command in time of peace.

727 A warrior who kills an enemy returns very slowly to his
774 home, because the "dead person weighs heavily on his chest."
They believe that the híkula of the dead person is inside the
chest of the victor. In there he tries to persuade the man to
[785] "eat a lot." But the warrior resists this and fasts for several weeks,
for otherwise the híkula of the dead person would kill him too.
After this time has passed the híkula of the enemy goes out to his
725 fate. It would seem that the most effective war tactic is to sur-
prise the enemy at dawn when he is asleep. We did not see
Sanemá rancherías fortified with palisades, as we did in other
Yanoama subtribes.

224 The Sanemá, like the Yanoama in general, are excellent
hunters, and many traits of their culture indicate a deep tradition
in this lore.

Nabudub

4: Wilbert--65 E-4, 5 (1958) 1963 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Sanema



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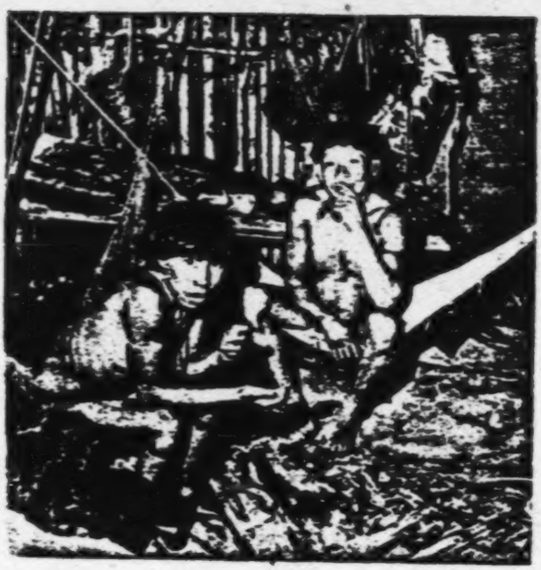
Nabudub (Sanemá) women and children.



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Nabudub couple seated on hammocks of cotton made by the woman.

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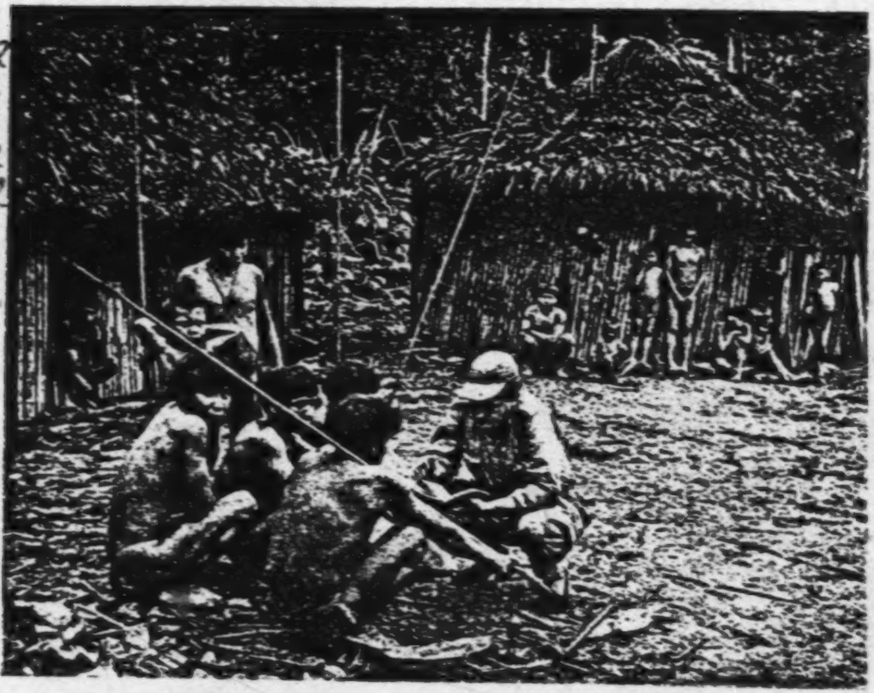

The author with a group of Sanemá on the upper Ventuarí.

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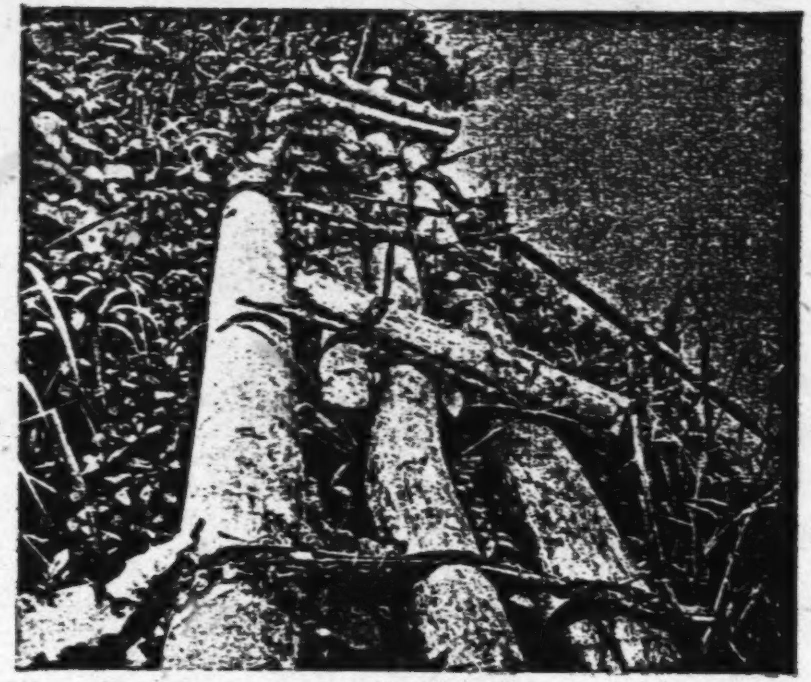

Sanemá raft.

4: Wilbert--73 E-4,5 (1958) 1963 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
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Makiritare SS 20

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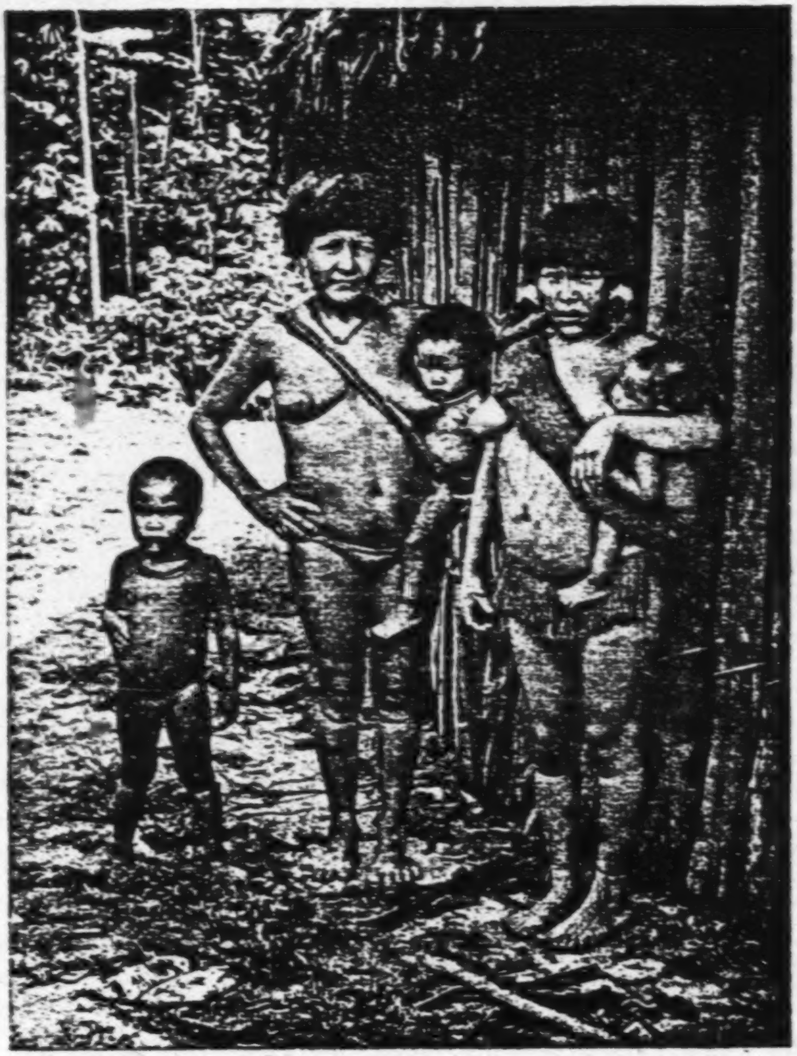

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Group of Sanemá women and children of the upper Orinoco. In the background the wall of a communal house of the Makiritare Indians.

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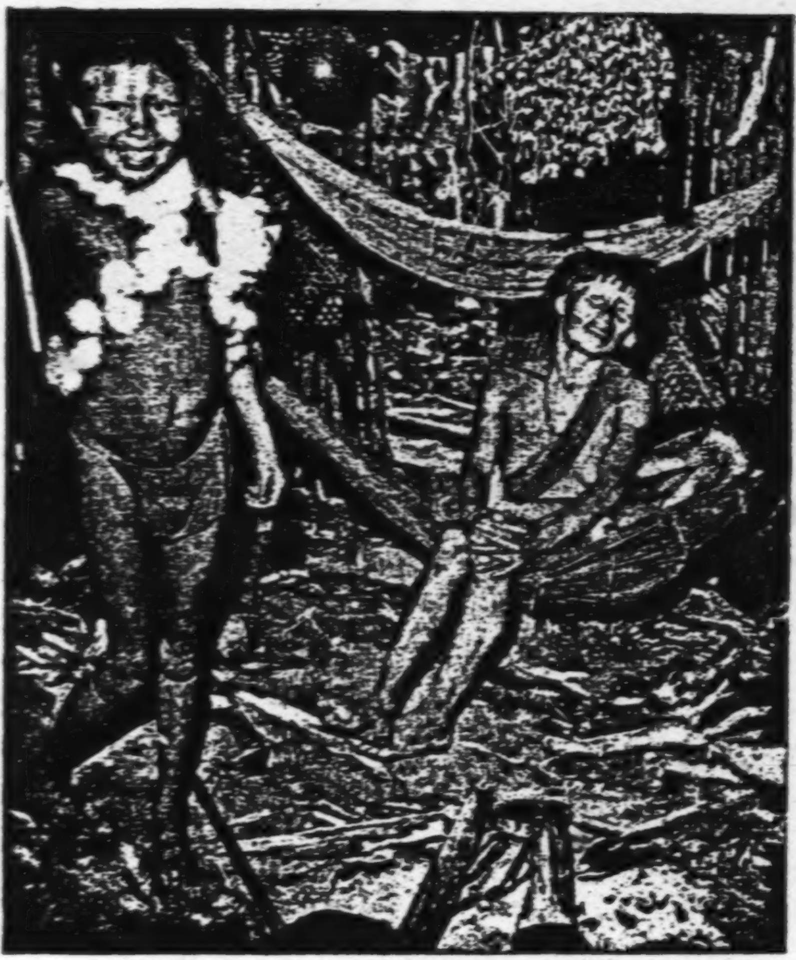

Group of Sanemá Indians of the upper Ventuarí in their house. The girl (standing) is wearing ornaments of white feathers.

4. Wilbert--75 E-4, 5 (1958) 1963 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
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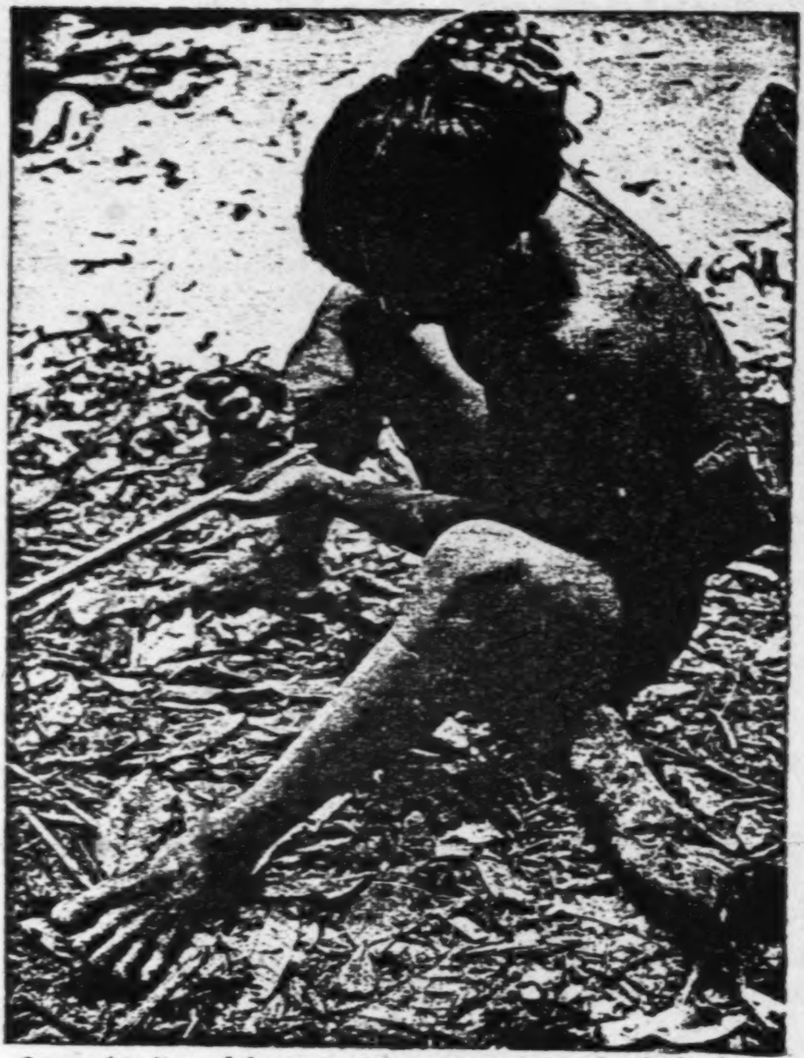

[237]

Sanemá Indian of the upper Ventuari preparing the shaft of an arrow, using a typical "knife" made out of a rodent's tooth mounted on a small stick.

4: Wilbert--76 E-4,5 (1958) 1963 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

Waica

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Waica boy of the upper Orinoco.

Courtesy: Luciano Scamuzzi.

4: Wilbert--77 E-4, 5 (1958) 1963 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

Waica

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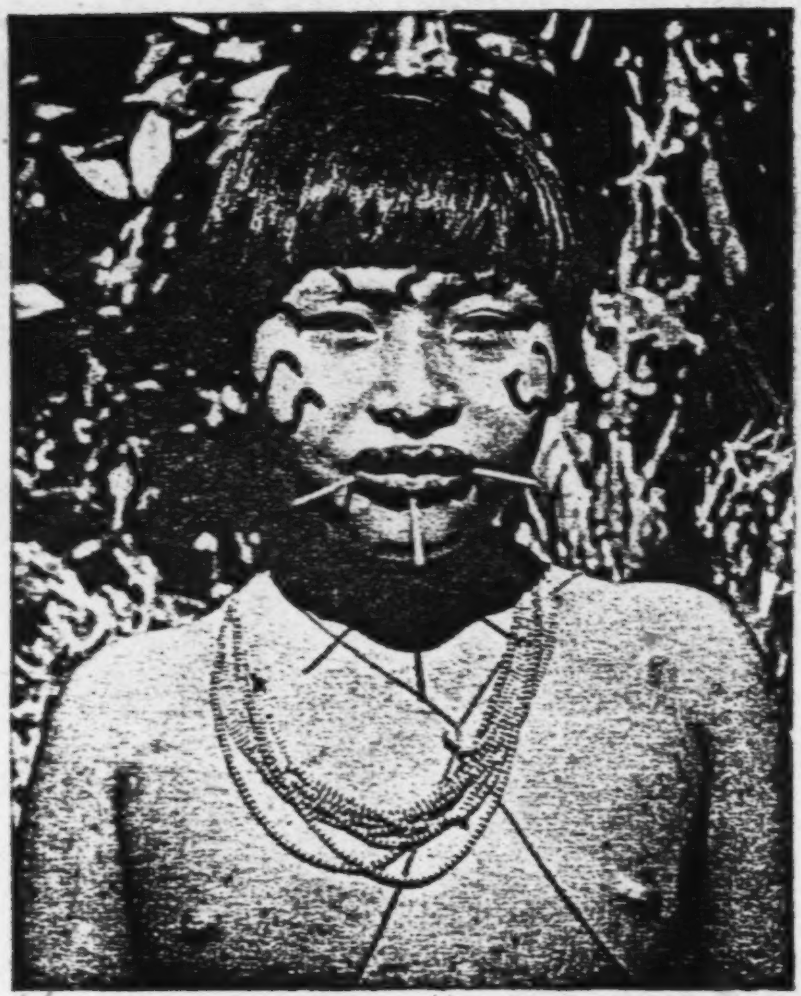

[304] A Waica girl of the upper Orinoco. The little sticks are held in perforations of the lips.

Courtesy: Luciano Scamuzzi

4: Wilbert--78 E-4,5 (1958) 1963 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

Waica

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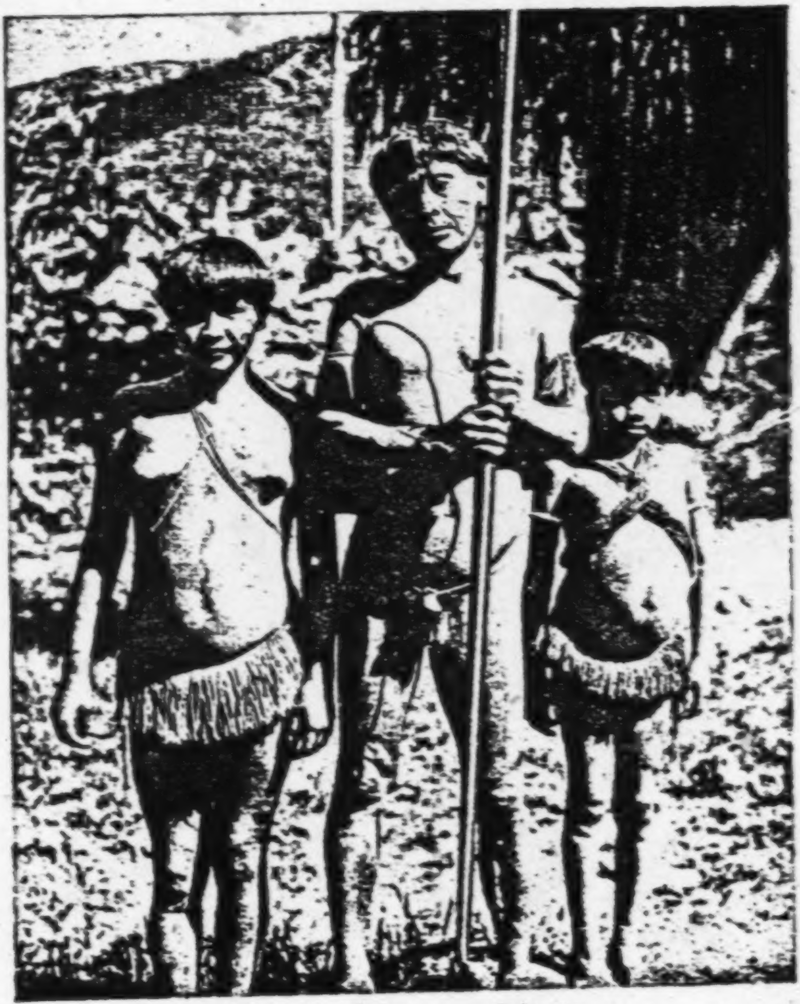

Waica family of the upper Orinoco.

Courtesy: Luciano Scamuzz

The first menstrual period

/215 cont./

584 indicates that a man may have sexual relations with the wife
881 who was promised to him when she was still a child. Sometimes
a girl will refuse to marry the man to whom she was promised
as a wife, but she is afraid to conceal her first menstrual periods
for mythological reasons.

881 In their oral literature the Sanemá tell of a very sad case
773 which occurred in remote times because a girl concealed her
first menstruation. Oineitīb, a scrawny dwarf, found out about what
had happened and caused heavy rains to fall for a period which
demolished the rancheria where the girl lived. All the men
died. The young girl went away to live with the neighboring
group, where she was greeted with unequivocal signs of friendliness. On the very day of her arrival a man went to the river to
fish, when suddenly he saw floating on the water the dead bodies
of the people of the rancheria recently destroyed by the heavy
rain. He immediately realized what had happened. He returned
to the rancheria and killed the girl. The dwarf ate the girl and
all the people who lived in the rancheria destroyed by the
rain. This happens very rarely, however, which is why the dwarf
is so thin.

881 We do not know the content of the puberty rites, but it
● [302] seems that the hair is cut in the case of both sexes, and, for the
[262] boys as well as for the girls, food is limited to cassava and water,
and that in small amounts. They do not eat meat. An informant
343 from the Erebato spoke to us of a special hut where the women
841 remain for the duration of their menstrual period. If we under-
881 stood him correctly, this hut is round and dome-shaped and made
of palm leaves stuck into the ground. Inside the hut there is a
circle made of little sticks placed side by side, within which
there are two sticks stuck into the ground one meter apart. Between these sticks is fixed a bejuco. /216/ The woman, who
must not lie down during menstruation, sits down and the bejuco
serves as a back support. We did not see any house of this type.

584 The arrangements for a marriage are initiated with a private
discussion between the two young lovers. The boy indicates to
his fiancée that he wishes to take her as his wife and says to her:

along by himself and hopped round us twittering. Then he flew off, to return 136
a little while later with another in tow—perhaps the hen bird. Twittering
again, he presented us to her as a fabulous discovery. They twittered a commentary and flew off, returning a little later, this time with a whole flock of friends. Then, with the courage that comes with numbers, they all made for our eyes to get at the honey. We were forced to disillusion them.

VIII

The Shirians have tobacco, *pihni* as they call it: even the most primitive and 276
savage of them, the Samatari, cultivate two things in some hidden corner of 249
the forest known only to themselves—tobacco, and the cane from which they make their arrows. Vice and war!

We were highly attracted towards the Uagna river lands, which, according 123*
to Luis Antonio, was country rich in game and inhabited, or at least occasionally [136]
crossed, by the Samatari, who inspired terror all round them. Enrico, Momi, and I set out on an expedition there, leaving Jean and Artur to wait for the plane.

We stopped on the way at the Uarema settlement; Luis Antonio wanted to show us off to his people, who had never seen men with beards and wearing clothes.

That night we slept in a crowded hut, and our curiosity was drawn towards 123*
a young woman who had strung her hammock between those of Uarema's 548
two nephews (whose persons were adorned with feathers and plumes). She stayed in all day as well, a cosseted Shirian Cleopatra, continually looking at herself in the little glass we had given her and adjusting the white feather boa
which covered her ears and her shoulders. During the course of the day other [302]
women came to help her with her toilet, painting her cheeks and forehead with [531]
certain precise geometrical designs: they used red and black colouring matter which when dry shone like enamel. Even her little quid of tobacco was smaller and daintier than others used. Uarema told us that she was the public woman of the tribe.

Next morning, when we were stepping into our boats again, Pancho and 123*
Benito came along in a big canoe. They wanted salt from us. We had very little, and had to refuse them. They went off in silence. When they were two hundred yards away, they shouted something in our direction. Luis Antonio

*
123 idea, so I kept my eye on the lady in case developments came quicker than was expected.

The day arrived when I believed my silent surveillance would be crowned with success. Actually I had fallen into an innocent error. By way of compensation, I certainly got a good laugh out of it. I had tailed the woman along a path fairly new to me, which she had taken as if she had no wish to advertise her whereabouts. I knew the path in its early stages, but had always assumed that it ended in a thick clump of bushes, progress being further discouraged by a big fallen tree-trunk. But when I reached this obstacle I saw no sign of my quarry. I then saw that the tree-trunk could be pushed aside, to reveal a fork in the path. From this point the track was well-worn, leading a good distance away from the hut. It didn't need much mental effort for me to realize what a clumsy mistake I had made. Behind a tree an Indian was attending to Nature's needs. I had ended up in the Guaycas' privy. The old man sent up a growl of protest at this intrusion of a bearded one in the sacred retreat. The only thing left to me was to turn back, with the air of having wandered there by chance.

514 It is interesting to observe that the Indians, while generally immodest to the point of indecency, regard the bodily functions as a matter for reticence and secrecy. They squat like women to urinate and for other purposes seek some remote and hidden place, as if well aware of the defencelessness of their situation at these moments. Thus they obey not only the all-important principles of hygiene, but those of security: and in a world like theirs, security is the more important.

*
123 That same day we witnessed another interesting operation, if one of a [122] different nature. On the morrow we were to start for Llantariña and the Shirians had already prepared a good supply of bananas and *mapuei* which they were bringing up in another boat. On the eve of this expedition every man jack we had engaged for it had disappeared—except Luis Antonio, who was swinging in his hammock with the public woman at his side.

● [302] 'They've gone to get their hair cut in the other hut,' he told me, when I asked where they all could be—for all the world as if he was saying: 'They're at the barber's shop round the corner.'

302
*123 We went off to the other hut, anxious to see the fun. It was Caio's turn. He was squatting on the ground in front of a pimply young woman who must have been his wife. She was giving him a perfect pudding-basin haircut, using instead of scissors the nails of her thumb and forefinger, which with the Indians

are extremely strong. One quick nip did all that was necessary, and the nails 302
worked with the precision of a pair of hairclippers. Beside her she had a little 123*
heap of fine ash, into which she dipped her fingers after every two or three nips. Hairs which interfered with the desired style were plucked out in a manner which might have been expected to bring cries of pain from the patient, but Caio only smiled his usual sweet smile, as if he was apologizing for causing so much trouble.

This operation went on for a good many hours, and we didn't see the end of it. But that evening Caio, Sempronio, and Narcissus trooped into the big hut, proudly displaying haircuts of an enviable perfection.

V

Delay appeared to be the order of the day on the island. Uarema's brother, 123*
the elderly one, failed to show up. We were waiting for him because we hoped he might prove a source of further information, and there was also a possibility that he might come with us, taking the place of the expectant father. We passed the time swimming, and walking through the Soto plantations, which had now
been almost strangled by the forest. After turning over practically every leaf, [245]
we found a few ripe pawpaws and plenty of *tupi*. The first-named is almost a wild fruit in this region: the Indians cultivate a small type no bigger than an orange but full of flavour. The second is the doubtful fruit of one of the solanacea, in shape, colour and flavour halfway between a tomato and a melon. We cooked these sometimes with salt, sometimes with sugar, and turned them into a kind of marmalade. At the first tasting it aroused our enthusiasm, but at
the next it made us sick. We were forced to find some substitute for our pro- 122
visions, now reduced to very small quantities: we had no rice, tinned meat or white flour left, besides being out of other more important commodities, but we still had plenty of coffee—though not sugar—and salt and powdered milk.

All our expeditions from now on, especially the Samatari venture which we were silently preparing, would have to rely on hunting and fishing for supplies. All we could take with us was coffee, which Enrico and I could drink unsweetened, and plenty of salt, with a little powdered milk 'in case of sickness', we told each other cheerfully. For this contingency, we didn't lack for medical supplies. As always, we had more than we could comfortably carry.

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9. *Reading-matter reaches the Auai Shyriana.*

[p. 96 - A]

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10. *Luis Antonio prefers the local tobacco to our own civilized brands.*

11 & 12. *Wareno's brothers-in-law.*

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[P.96-B]

*123
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14. *On the river Wagua: a sloth.*

[p. 96 - D]

6: Vinci T-5 (1950) 1959 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Sanema

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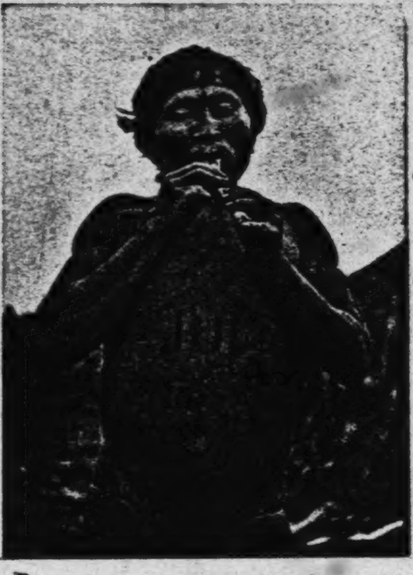
15. *Grubs make a tasty dish!*

16. *The fourth type of Samatari - the girlish.*

17. *The 'bad type' - playing a whistle made from a deer's shin-bone. Note the tribal signs on his stomach*



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[p. 96-E]

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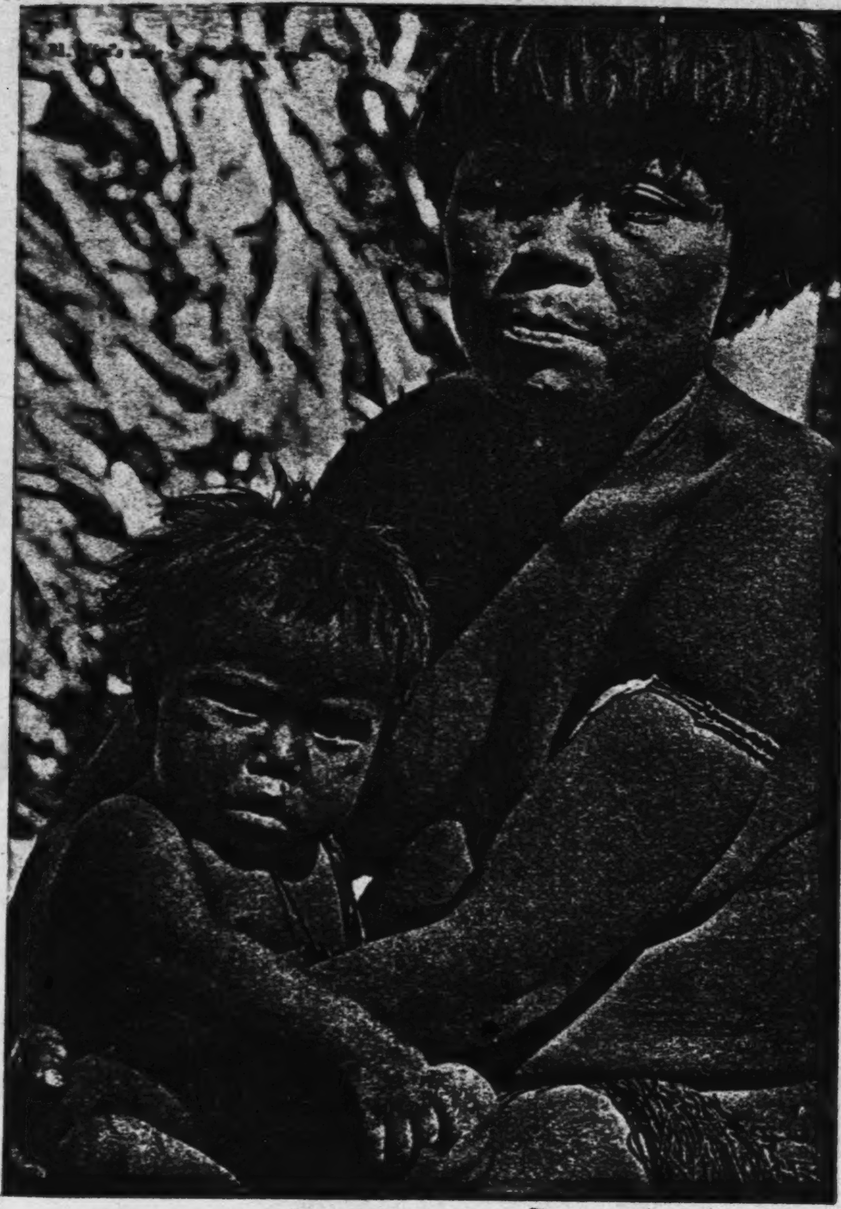

[p. 144-G]

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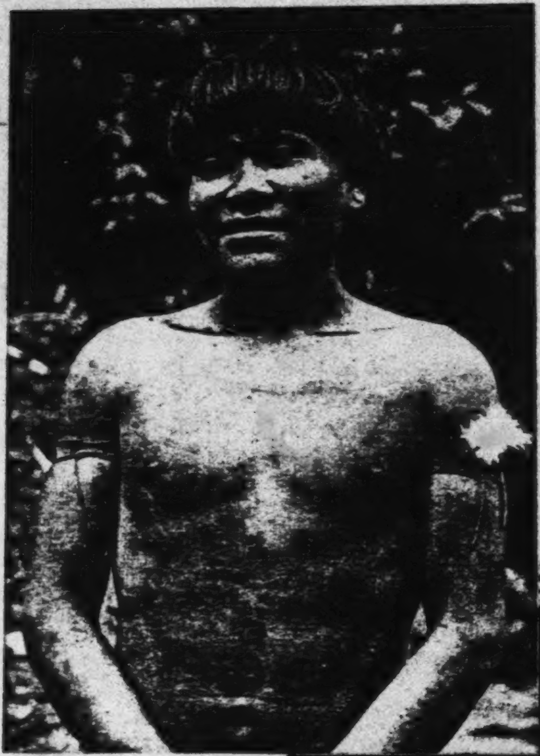

35. *Dolfuss was pale and handsome.*

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36. *A typical primitive: a man of good will, ugly as he is.*

[p. 192-A]

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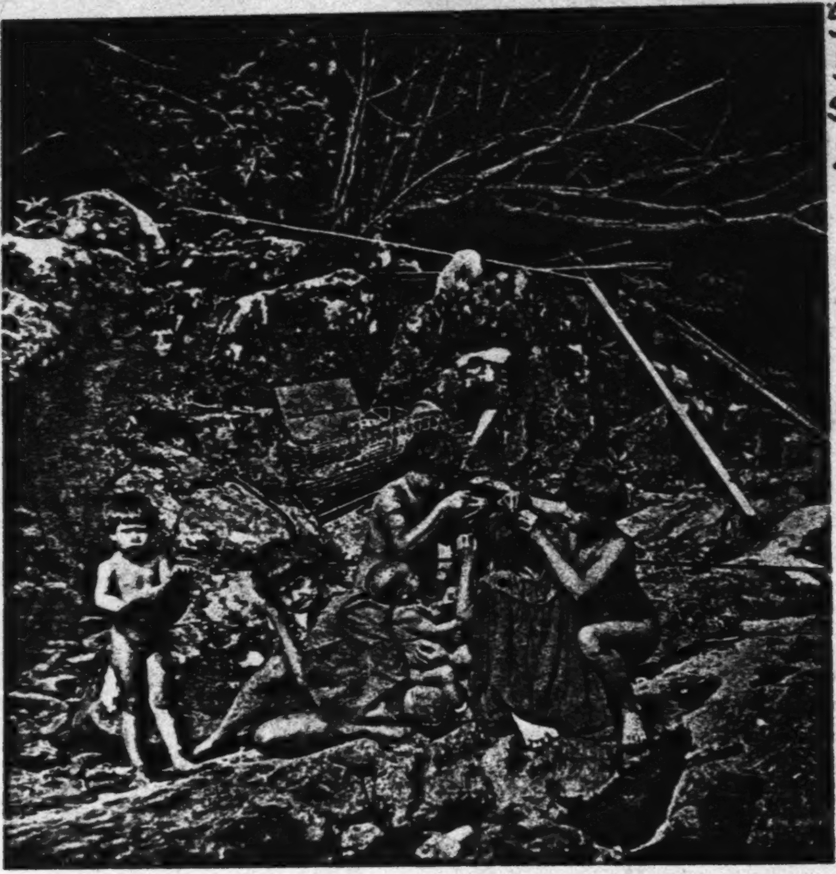

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50. *While the men brave the falls, their women-folk pause for hygiene.*

[p. 192 - H]

A vast and multiform horde it is that besieges the trees; a people millions strong, each one of whom wages its own small war and combines with the rest in the greater struggle. 137

IV

123* In the three brothers, all that was best in this wild region could truly be said to have found some form of expression. Their reactions were at times incomprehensible—sudden reflexes resulting from a life utterly different in every way from our own and in some degree akin to the animals'. They were always together, not mixing with the other Shirians and building their own little separate shelter. Every night, when work was finished, they came to us, rubbing themselves against us and indicating by gestures what goods they would like for their pay.

123* 177 823 152 They had certain phobias, the most interesting being a fear of nails. Carmine always had a long nail handy, and each evening he would hammer it into one of the hut-poles to hang up his gun and cartridge-case. This produced a terrible effect on one of the brothers. He would stand and watch as if paralysed, for all the world as though the nail was being driven into his own forehead. If Carmine showed him the nail, holding it out to him, he would cry '*Ma, ma*' and run off to hide in his little hut. Generally, however, he was most friendly, even affectionate, towards us. Carmine had once rashly promised to cut his hair for him, and since a haircut for one meant a haircut for everybody and the expedition's only pair of scissors was precious, we lost a whole day while my companion gained some experience of the barber's trade. The Indians spent their time looking at themselves in the glass and examining each other's coiffure for defects which they wanted attended to at once. 123* 302

123* In imitation of the tales the Shirians told, Carmine had invented a terrifying personage called Barabin, a kinsman of his, who lived somewhere over the mountains. Barabin made such an impression on everyone that the myth became a real moral weapon and came in very useful when the Indians needed a little prodding. When Carmine told his tale, in a mixture of Shirian, Makiritari, Spanish, Portuguese and Italian, they would listen with eyes like saucers, in curiosity and fear: 'Barabin and a hundred robbers and a hundred fierce dogs—they live in the trees like monkeys—eat women and children, cooked—

/443 cont./

Domestic Animals

231 Dogs are raised and generally used in hunting.

Birds of almost all types are captured when they are found before leaving the nest. Most of these only survive a few days. It seems that the parrots manage to survive in captivity much better than the other birds, so that almost all the settlements have a domesticated parrot. Turkeys and cranes are included among the other birds which can survive and reach the adult state.

Domesticated monkeys are also favorite animals. It is interesting to observe that almost without exception the monkey is the property of a woman. Doubtless this is related to the fact that women nurse the little monkeys until they are weaned. The mother monkey must be killed in order to be able to capture the little monkey.

Small rodents, such as squirrels and vesper mice, are brought to the house sometimes to be domesticated. One family even went so far as to raise a wild pig (chácharo).

231 /444/ When a domestic animal dies, it is incinerated out-
766 side the settlement, near some path. Its bones are left in the
same spot where they were when the fire consumed them.

241 Agriculture

Platanos and banana trees occupy nearly 90 per cent of the cultivated lands. Other fruits include sweet yuca, bitter yuca, ocumo /malanga/, mapuey /yams/, sugar cane, maize the pijiguao palm /peach palm/, pepper, the papaya, and the sweet potato.

Tobacco, cotton, and onoto /annatto/ are the principal non-
241 edible products. Other nonedible products include a grass whose
824 stem is dried and used for cutting the hair; a variety of root
● 302 similar to the wild onion is used in magic for hunting, for ob-
789 taining a wife, etc.; especially fragrant leaves are used by the
302 women in their ears; and the ingredients used in the processing
276 of "yopo," a narcotic which is blown into the nose.

/453 cont./

276 Several varieties of "yupo," of different degrees of strength, are prepared with leaves, bark, and ashes of bark. In the form of powder, it is blown by another into the nose of the one using it. The helper is the one who blows it, but the one using it fills the little tube and consequently is the one responsible with regard to the amount taken.

The "yopo" is connected with their religion and must be taken in order to carry out most of the sorcery, magic, or spells. Nevertheless, some become so addicted to the drug that they take it in great quantities and remain under its influence from midday until evening almost every day.

"Yopo" greatly enlarges the pupil, to the point of almost covering the entire iris of the eye.

The intoxication which it produces is similar to that caused by alcohol, but the effect passes sooner. An excessive dose may leave a person flat on his back, foaming at the mouth, and without strength enough to get up or to resist anything which might be done to him.

291

Clothing

The item of clothing which is fundamental for both men and women is a cord tied around the waist. Men are not considered decently dressed if they do not have the penis held up by the foreskin by the aforementioned cord.

(177) There is a desire to obtain trousers and shirts for protection against insects.

• 302

Ornaments

The predominant style of cutting the hair is that of shaving the upper part of the cranium, leaving a border of hair about five centimeters wide around it. The lower edge of /454/ this border of hair should come exactly to the upper edge of the ears and a short space above the eyebrows. The straighter and more abrupt the lines of the hair, the better is the haircut. Sometimes they let the hair grow over the whole head. Sometimes, in order to rid themselves of lice, they shave the entire head. The whole head may be shaved for other reasons as well.

/454 cont./

304 All have the ears pierced. A good number of men and women also have the center of the lower lip pierced. Some women have the corners of the mouth pierced, and a few have the nose pierced.

304 301 The boys and men wear sticks through their ears, sometimes feathers or also little sticks with feathers. Those who have the lip pierced keep a little stick or a feather there all the time.

The women wear flowers or leaves in their ears. The perforations in the lips and the nose generally have sticks in them. On gala occasions, the little stick which goes through the nasal septum may be as long as the face is wide.

301 291 In addition to the cords tied around the waist, they frequently wear similar cords around the arms and legs.

The men may also wear a heavy cotton belt and similar bands on a smaller scale on the arms. They may wear feathers fixed on the shoulders and a monkey tail around the head, to emphasize the border of hair, or they may adorn the hair with down.

The women also use a heavy cotton belt, clearly different from the one which the men use.

Girls wear a band at the waist, woven of cotton, with decorations on its front part. They also customarily cross the chest with bands of cotton.

● 302 53 [386] Onoto, charcoal, and several other paints are used for body designs. They do not seem to have any religious meaning, but simply an ornamental purpose. These designs include dots, stripes, wavy lines, and circles. Sometimes they paint a wide strip and then make the design by scraping off the paint. They also imprint upon the skin /455/ ornamental designs by using a "mapire" or the hand, or some combination of these. It seems that some of them have their favorite designs.

Hides, Textiles, and Weaving

237 The skin of the jaguar or of another mammal rarely reaches the settlement in a single piece. But even if it did, it is immediately cut into small pieces so that each one may have a little piece to cover his quiver, or at least a band to wear tied to the arm.

/473 cont./

583 628 To a suitor who does not obtain the consent of the girl's settlement there is no other path but to look for a wife elsewhere or to try to abduct the girl in order to make her his /474/ wife. If he decides to do this latter, he gathers together his sympathizers; these are mostly men of the suitor's own settlement, although other friends may also help him. The group attempts to take the girl prisoner at a careless moment, carrying her off by force. The friends of the girl come to help her, starting a hand-to-hand fight. If the suitor manages to flee with the girl, she becomes his wife, but if he fails, he cannot make another attempt at abduction without then being considered a real enemy, and as such he will run the risk of being shot with an arrow and not simply have to put on a fight.

[411] If a settlement decides not to accept the abduction committed for one of its girls for matrimonial purposes, a call for help can be made to a neighboring settlement, all of the men gathering in a band, ready to recover her. The weapons used on such a raid are smooth poles about six feet long, intended not to kill the opponent, but to knock him down, leaving him *hors de combat*. If such a raid is successful, the girl is returned to her parents. And if the raid fails, any new attempt to recover the girl involves the risk of the attackers' being shot with arrows, since they would then be considered as true enemies. Both the men and the women can fight on the defense in case of such a raid.

A suitor alone or with the help of a few friends may succeed in carrying out the abduction of a wife, generally by finding the girl practically alone and carrying her off to his own settlement. In such cases the settlement of the abductor cannot back him, obliging him to return the woman to her parents rather than to lose their friends in her settlement.

721 ● 302 726 [411] When a raid to a truly hostile settlement is planned for the purpose of abducting a wife or other objects of value, each one of the members of the attacking band paints himself entirely black or dark maroon. For such raids the weapons are the bow and arrows, and, when the fight starts, both groups shoot to kill. Should the attacking band be small, it can only hope to capture some girl or woman who is alone in her "*conuco*" or /475/ cutting wood in the forest. Then it will try to escape with the

/483 cont./

758 They bathe sick persons. If the patient cannot go to the
515 stream, they bathe him part by part at home and even in his own hammock.

/484/ Death

763 They are generally afraid of death and make every effort to keep a dying person alive for a while longer. When someone is in danger of dying, the relatives and friends hold meetings for lamentations at least once a day.

764 When a dying person expires, a time of mourning begins.
● [302] Then, at about 3:00 in the afternoon, the funeral begins. The
relatives and friends begin to paint themselves. There is much
[535] crying and lamentation. The women dance forward and backward, groaning and carrying several poisoned darts in one hand. If there are young children, they are frequently carried also. If the deceased is a little one, its little body may be carried during the final part of this mourning dance. A few closely related men and the intimate friends also participate in the dance.

After the lamentations have continued for a quarter of an hour more or less, the men go out in search of firewood and light a fire of two meters in front of the dwelling where the corpse is lying. When the fire reaches an adequate size, the body is carried there in a hammock made of cords of vine and placed on the fire. Then they put more wood on top of the
[966] corpse. If the deceased is an infant, they place it in the fire
in a flat basket rather than a hammock. They keep the fire burning
[765] until around ten at night. Then they gather up the bones,
wrap them in leaves, and hang them in the house.

If someone should die far from the settlement, his body is wrapped in leaves tied with vines and carried to the settlement to be cremated.

765 About three days after the cremation, the bones are pulverized in a small trough and then kept hermetically in a gourd capped with beeswax. The trough is made by using a machete to carve out the hole, burning its interior. They use it only once. After it is used, both the trough and the pestle are burned. Much weeping accompanies the process of pulverization and sealing the remains in the gourd.

Plate III

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● 302
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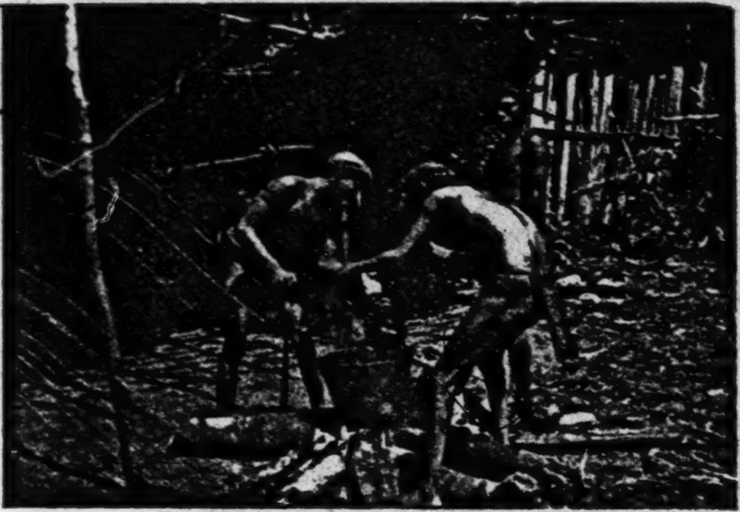

The men cook the meat from hunting. El Platanal. (Photo. by the author.)

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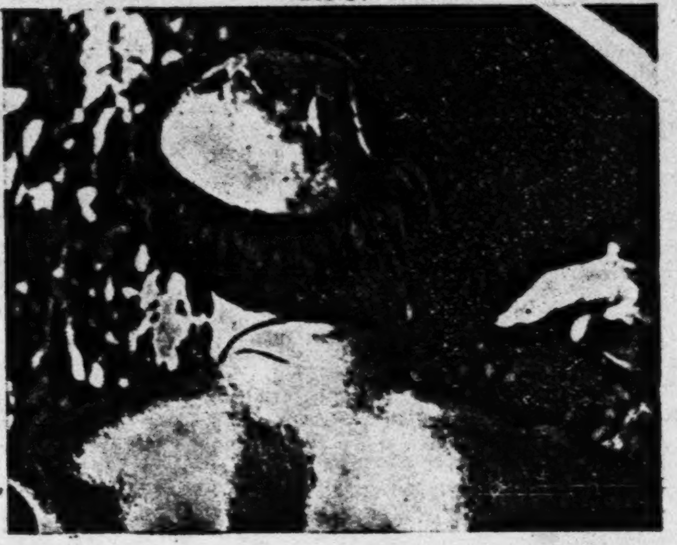
They produce fire by making a little stick rotate between the palms of the hands, with the friction end resting on a piece of soft wood. El Platanal. (Photo. by the author.)

Plate IV

● 302



The Guaika--women and men--shave the head, leaving only a ring of hair all around. Notice the scars on this warrior. El Platanal. (Photo. by the author.)

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Interior of a Guaika hut, in El Platanal. The platano is one of the principal foods in their diet. (Photo. by the author.)

/156 cont./

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123
In December of 1953 the Shibaatía-tjeti came back to make another raid, accompanied by the Comishibueitjeti. But the Majecototjeti had camped outside, on the other side of the river. Some of the Shibaatía-tjeti approached us carrying an arrow, but leaving their bows in the woods with the other men. They explained that they were friendly visitors and asked where the Majecototjeti were, because they were supposed to visit them.
[302]
[574]
[822]
But their black war-paint showed that they had come on a raid. (Visitors are painted with red or mulberry color, but not black.) When they saw that they were not going to get us to tell them where the people were, they asked us to give them matches and
[412]
fishhooks. They gave us in exchange some knives made of tooth. After this things calmed down, but from this time on the people
[361]
of Majecototjeti have lived inside their palisades when they were near their main farm.

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721
The people of Majecototjeti started a new farm called "Joitja-tjeca" to the south of the Orinoco, where they could live without palisades and feel safe from raids by the Shibaatía-tjeti. The Majecototjeti did not plan any retaliatory raid, because they said, "None of our men have been killed."

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[114]
In September of 1954 I had camped with the Majecototjeti at their new farm to the south of the Orinoco River. Everybody was calmer there, and they seemed to feel freer than at any time since the first raid by the Shibaatía-tjeti had put them on the alert almost a year before.

222
Anyone who wished to do so could go out and gather fruit,
[226]
[411]
[857]
fish, or hunt crabs, even in small groups. The boys were having fun shooting at the fish in the many streams with their little arrows of split palm shoots and bows made of a curved stick and a piece of twisted bark. It was the season of the moriche fruit, and the /157/ women went out almost every day and came back carrying
726
baskets full of this fruit. One afternoon about 1:00 P.M. some came to the aldea and said that a great number of tracks had been seen not far from the aldea. A group of men went out to investigate.

/158 cont./

726 That night some of our missionaries were camped outside in a
114 casa abierta /"open house"/. Suddenly they were awakened by a group of Yanomama men, who were standing and looking at our missionaries, without saying anything. They all were painted
[302] black, as though to make it impossible to recognize them by the light of the evening, or in the lesser light of the night. Finally the silence was broken, and the men of Majecototjeti told them that they were looking for the raiders who had killed the man and the boy and had carried off the four women. Our people had seen nothing of the raiders and were enormously surprised at the news.

726 The following morning the men went to the place of the attack and brought the arrows which were there. They did not bring back the complete arrows, but only the ends with the feathers. The arrows were not cut, but burned in two. The poisoned points were brought also. The men carefully examined the arrows and tried to make out from what aldea the raiders had come. The arrows looked like those of the Liacoatjeti, but they had seen a machete in that place, and who could imagine a Liacoatjeti leaving a machete, even in a moment of danger.

There was also a rumor that a bark canoe had been found some distance down the river. Probably the Shibaatía-tjeti had crossed the river in this canoe. (This rumor later turned out to be false.)

A search was carried out in a large circle in every direction to try to find out what direction the raiders had taken. Finally the track was found, and the Liacoatjeti were then recognized as the raiders, and they had come from the south. Their path had been made so as to cover the tracks, leaving the formation one by one and reassembling farther on.

721 The Majecototjeti planned, in turn, a raid of /159/ revenge. First a banquet was held with tapir meat and cassava to eat with the meat. A day or so later the men marched off on a raid of revenge against the Liacoatjeti. The Majecototjeti had gone off two weeks before, but had not found the Liacoatjeti in their houses.

727
[123] "Jolocoiue," a boy with a broken leg who had stayed with us, asked us to pray to God to send "Etemi" (one of the abducted women) home safe and sound.

8: Barker--11 M-5 (ca. 1951-1956) 1959 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Waica

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Mr. James Barker, in Mahekodotedi, accompanied by a group of Guaica Indians. (Photo Frobenius Expedition, 1954.)

123 75 /163 cont./
wanted that person to die. I assured them that we alone had not cured the boy. The whole aldea had asked God to cure him, and God had answered. The people of the aldea affirmed that this was the case. They had prayed sufficiently, and God had spared his life.

726 The chief's brother came to Yabitjaotjeti and told the chief that the Liacoatjeti had been visiting upriver and that now they were on their way to their homes in their own aldea.

[622] The chief called a meeting for another raid. First the whole aldea moved across the river in order to get away from the bank that was easy for the Shibaatía-tjeti to attack. David and I picked up our hammocks and went with them across the river. On the following day the men set off on the raid, or, more properly, they went down to the Bisheasetjeti to depart from there. Only the adult men went; the boys and children 17 years old or less remained at home.

727 This time David and I were able to pray that they might not fight. We asked, rather, that the Lord might protect the believers from danger. He did it. The raiders /164/ were gone about three weeks. When they returned, the chief came to the aldea and had an official colloquy, briefly, with the most important man who was left in the aldea. At most the chanted colloquy lasted about half a minute. Then they all began to cry. Someone had been killed. We looked to see who had come back and, if possible, to see who was missing. [302] Some of the men had red marks on their cheeks and on the forehead as a sign that they had killed someone or had "hecho" /done, finished/ much in the fight, for they did not know whether they had killed anyone or not.

I later learned that three of the enemy had been killed, and that one of those of the party, a man from Macolimutjeti, had been wounded in the chest and had died.

727 783 The underbrush had been cleared away at the site of our temporary aldea, which thus would not serve for the matadores /killers/ to fulfill the rites of a matador as they should be done in thick underbrush. Therefore within an hour we moved to a

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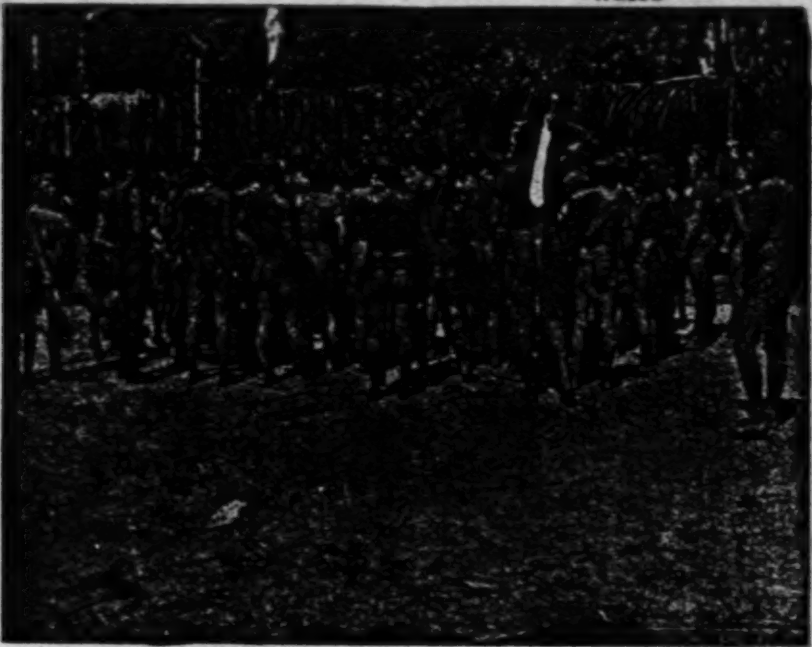

Guaica Indians in El Platanal buying machetes.

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A group of Guaica natives surrounding James Barker.

9:Grelier K-5 (1951) 1957 SQ18 Yanoama SQ 18

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Guaharibo Indian of the Padamo river. (*Photograph by J. Grelier*)

[p. 64 – A]

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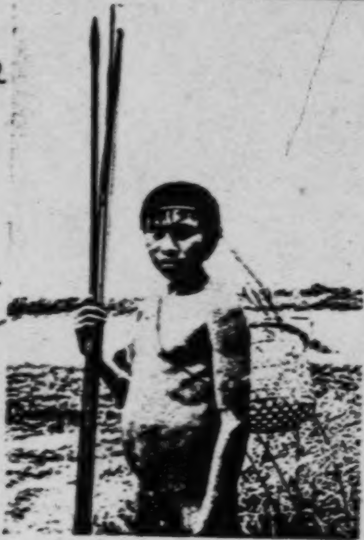

TOP: One evening, thirteen Guaharibos from the Padamo arrived.
(*Photograph by J. Grelier*)

BOTTOM LEFT: Guaharibo Indian. Notice the length of his bow and arrows.
(*Photograph by J. Grelier*)

BOTTOM RIGHT: Guaharibo woman. (*Photograph by J. Grelier*)

[p.64-B]

123 [648] From this we deduced that the Waïkas and the Guaharibos, although belonging to the same racial group, do not always live together in complete harmony.

142 Generally speaking, the Guaharibo is not as tall as the average white man. Though he is of slender build, his chest is thick-set and his arms are muscular and we attributed this to his regular use of his immensely powerful bow. His skin is lighter than that of the Makiritares and his eyes are brighter. His hair, too, is less dark and is cut with a fringe all round the head. Body hair is but feebly developed and the men are [302] practically beardless. The two women in the boat were delicately made and quite pretty; they adopted a similar hairstyle to the men but rather longer. Their breasts, small and conical, contrasted with the opulent, hemispherical breasts of the [302] Makiritare women. One of them was clearly the wife of the leader of the party; the other appeared to belong to one of the men with the charcoal-blackened face.

123 Our Guaharibos very quickly became less suspicious, though they still kept close together. Each grasped his machete as though it were treasure, the women and children doing so, [136] too. Hardly had they disembarked than they were assaulted by the *plaga*, which were always at their worst at this time of day. The unfortunate Guaharibos in their nakedness fell an easy prey to them and were soon hopping about and slapping themselves with their hands and the flat blades of the machetes. Obviously they had come from a less infested country, probably from the banks of a black water river.

"General" Butrón, who had several times had contact with the Padamo Guaharibos—or at least with their cousins the Waïkas—suddenly produced a bundle of incredible rags which he had picked up God-knows-where, and began to distribute them. The scene that followed was quite grotesque. The women were no more capable of putting on a dress than the men were of donning trousers. We had to dress them as if they were infants, and replace missing buttons by string. As soon as night fell and the *jejenes* left us in peace, they promptly discarded these embarrassing and tawdry impediments.

We made over to them a newly-built *rancho* situated in the

9:Grelier K-5 (1951) 1957 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

Waica

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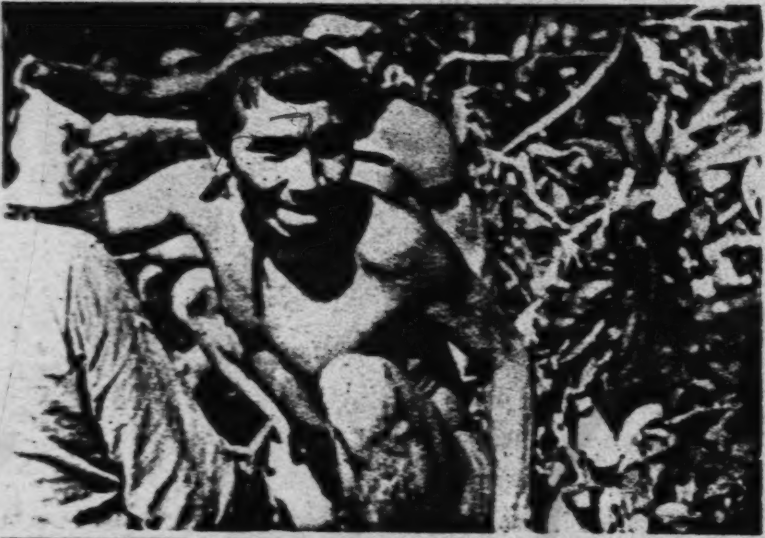

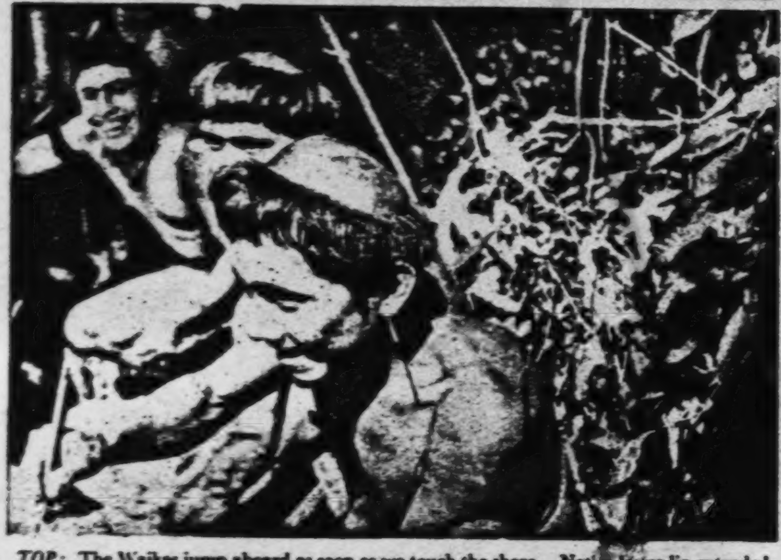

TOP: The Waikas jump aboard as soon as we touch the shore. Notice lower lip extended by a quid of tobacco. (*Photograph by J. Grelier*)

BOTTOM: This one has just received the gift of a pencil. Notice the shaven skull and the scars on the scalp. (*Photograph by J. Grelier*)

[p. 96—D]

9:Grelier K-5 (1951) 1957 SQ18 Yanoama SQ 18
Waica

It was on July 15th that we encountered our first Waikas. 123
We were sailing close under the left bank during the late afternoon
when we heard hoarse cries near by. Two naked Indians [302]
with faces and bodies painted violet showed themselves among
the trees. With excited gestures and brandishing their bows,
they motioned us to come closer.

"*Shori! Shori!*" they shouted.

"*Shori! Shori!*" we repeated and held up machetes for them to see.

By the time we had found a suitable landing-place on the bank the two had become six—six young men laughing, shouting and jostling each other excitedly. All were painted. While we were still making fast, they plunged into the water and hoisted themselves aboard. We gave them machetes and *manioc* and they gave us bows and arrows in return. Judging from the way they fingered our clothes, boots and beards we must have appeared very peculiar creatures to them. All the time they kept saying "*Shori! Shori!*" and we responded as in a litany, "*Shori!*"

Physically the Waika is no different from the Guaharibo. 142
He has the same stocky body and contrasting thin legs. His
hair is cut monk-fashion with the top of the head shaven. He 291
wears no clothes but a string of forest cotton which serves as
a belt and keeps his privy member tied upwards by means of a
knot round the prepuce. On his arms above the elbow he 301
wears a bangle of tightly woven cotton, monkey's fur or bird's [237]
skin. His ears are pierced to take ear-rings of reed. Sometimes
a bunch of different coloured parakeet's feathers, or [304]
toucan's feathers, is used for this purpose. Occasionally he [291]
will wear a belt of cotton threads died with ochre. At first
we thought this to be a badge of rank or authority, but later
we saw so many of these garments and they were offered so
readily as barter that we had to revise this idea. Another
frequent form of adornment is the pelt of a capuchin monkey
worn on the head like a tiara. And all of these ornaments, [439]
besides bows and arrows, were freely offered to us in exchange [123]
for knives, necklaces and matches.

The bow is the Waika's only weapon. Made of strong, 411

9:Grelier K-5 (1951) 1957 SQ18 Yanoama SQ 18

Waica

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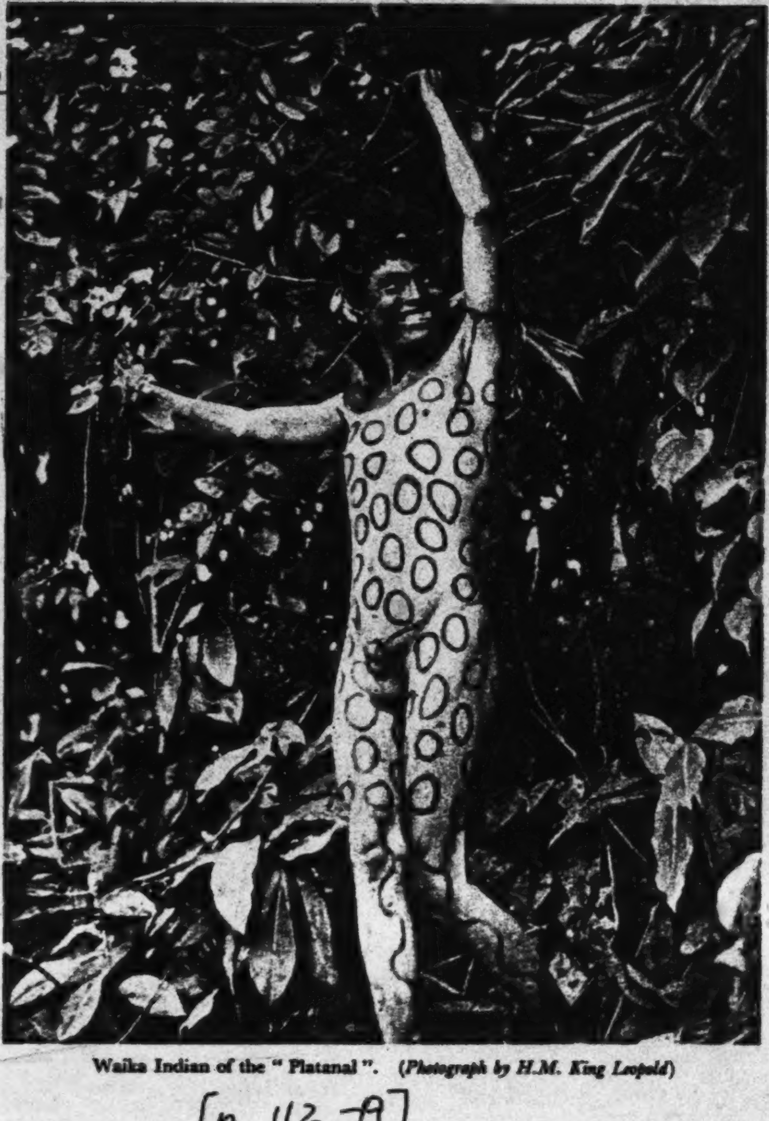

Waika Indian of the “ Platanal ”. (*Photograph by H.M. King Leopold*)

[p. 112-A]

9:Grelier K-5 (1951) 1957 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

Waica

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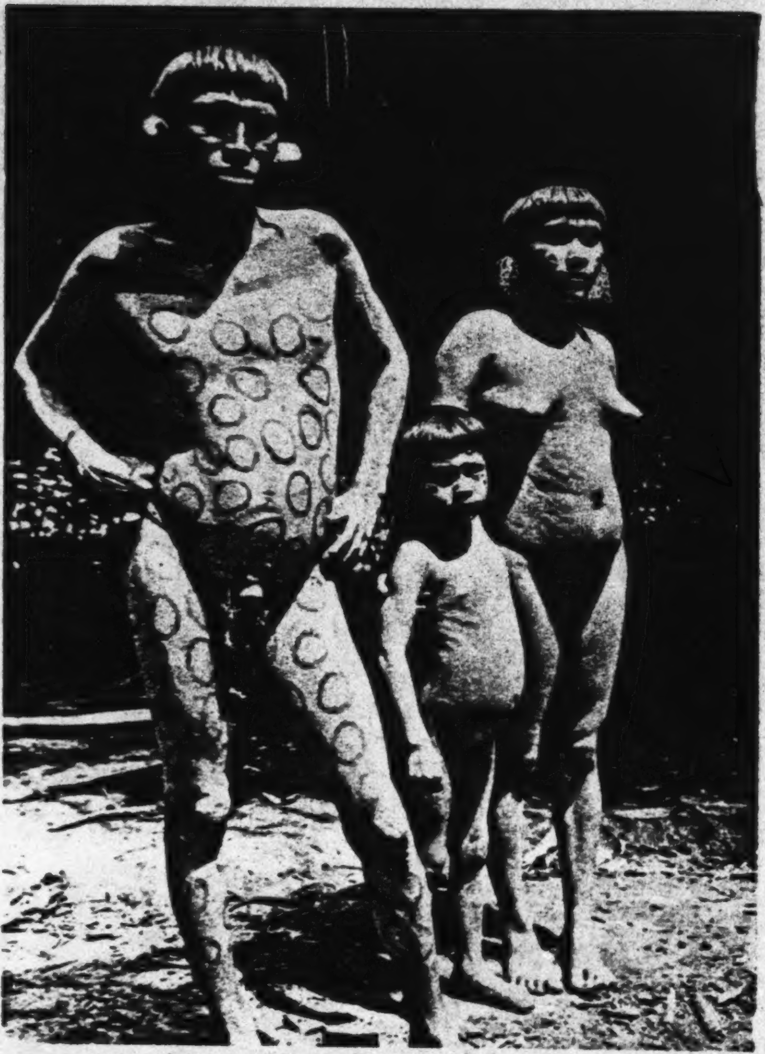

Waika family of the " Platanal ". (*Photograph by H.M. King Leopold*)

[p. 112 - B]

9:Grelier K-5 (1951) 1957 SQ18 Yanoama SQ 18
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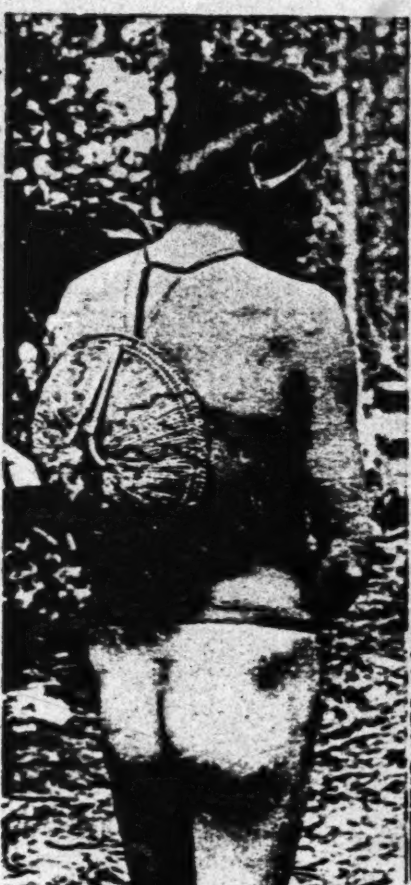

The Waika always carries with him his little knives made of a rodent's incisors. (*Photograph by J. Grelier*)

Below: Pierre Ivanoff and one of our Waika friends. (*Photograph by J. Grelier*)

[p. 112-D]

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123
[609] entered. It was deserted; the women and children had doubtless fled at our approach and were now probably hiding in the forest or the plantation. This would explain why the men had been unwilling to allow me to wander off on my own.
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[291] After a time they began to filter back. The boys were the

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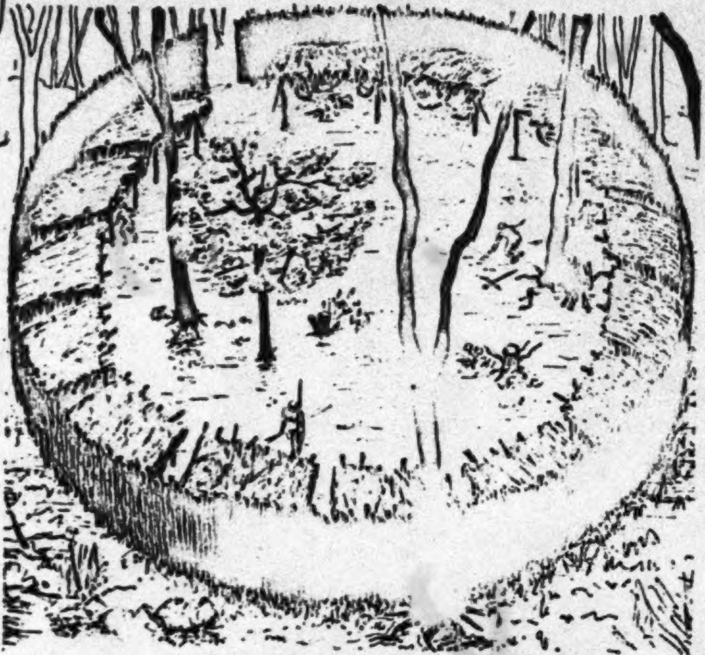

WAIKA FORTIFIED VILLAGE, "PLATANAL"

123
[291] first to return, the younger ones wearing nothing but an armlet above the elbow, and the older ones wearing the string round their hips and knotted to the prepuce. Then came the women, the oldest first, followed by the younger ones with their babies.
● [302] All were completely naked and all wore their hair cut in the pudding-basin fashion favoured by the men. They kept close together, chattering; some began idly swinging in their hammocks in their houses. When we tried to approach them the men followed close on our steps.

SQ 18
Waica

302 Both men and women and even the small children paint their
[386] faces and bodies with a violet-ish dye extracted from the edible
berry of the manaca palm. Sometimes the dye is mixed with
the red clay from the river bank. As a dye it persists well, for
it often has to compete with many layers of dirt and does not
302 seem to wash off with sweat or rain. The patterns in which
it is used vary considerably. All-over dyeing of cheeks and
531 forehead is common, though sometimes vertical lines are preferred,
either straight or wavy. The designs are never angular
and the same *motif* is rarely repeated. One freshly-painted
warrior had his face, neck and chest painted all over a violet-red,
while his back was painted with a series of half-inch polka
dots arranged in parallel lines. Dots of this sort were also
commonly used with artistic purpose on the upper and lower
limbs. To heighten the contrast some used charcoal to blacken
themselves.

123 Some explorers of these forests have tried to read ritual or
302 war-like significance into this painting of the body. But since
we frequently found freshly-painted individuals in company
with some whose paint was paling and some who were not
even painted at all, I do not think this theory holds good. I
believe it is no more than the expression of a desire to be
beautiful, although it is true that at a later date, when the
natives became menacing, they were all freshly painted.

* * *

352 The furnishing of Waika huts is very simple and orderly,
each hut containing anything from four to ten hammocks, and
every inch of space being used by slinging the hammocks one
[286] above the other. Some of the hammocks are woven from
[283] threads of forest cotton dyed in ochre, which quickly fades,
while others are made of thin lianas crudely knotted at their
[287] ends. We saw none of the bark hammocks which the natives
invariably use on their journeys. Each hut is the centre of
592 a family unit, two families sharing the same hut only when
the village is crowded.

162 In the present village of about two hundred and fifty people,
which we called Platanal, only about forty were adult males.

bringing in supplies from the plantation and distributing them among the huts. They were obviously preparing for a long siege. 123 721

Barker, the missionary, told us he had thrown his shot-gun into the river to save him from having to take part. Rape, he said, was at the root of every conflict—the kidnapping of boys or girls according to whether a clan had a surplus of men or women without mates. Sometimes a young warrior had to prove himself and in such cases rape is the best method, since it tests endurance, patience, resource and skill no less than strength. [555]

On this occasion, the women had lost all their earlier bashfulness—a group of six of them never leaving us. We had seen the eldest of them twice before, and three of the others had been in the village when we had passed through on our downstream trip. It seemed they must have vouched for our friendliness for nobody asked us for machetes and matches. 123

On returning to our boat we found six stalks of bananas had been put in it for us. We were sorry that we had nothing but a little *manioc* to offer in return. As we left we met three Waïkas from a neighbouring clan. In honour of their hosts and doubtless to cut a good figure, each had painted himself all over with violet dye. [302]

* * *

We passed the Guaharibo Rapids at dawn on November 22nd and by the following day were at the foot of the rapids at Peñascal. We had brought lifting tackle to use where necessary, but with only four of us—and somewhat tired at that—we were anxious to avoid overland porterage wherever we could.

The falling water had uncovered acres of rocks with little channels running between, offering a safe passage through. At other times we had to assault the main channel knowing that if the engine gave out we must lose boat, provisions and equipment, if not our lives. For this reason, if ever there was enough water to float us in any subsidiary channel, we took it every time.

[pp 172 to end of book not processed]

415 clay pots are rapidly being replaced by aluminum ware sup-
323
179 plied to the few villages in contact with foreigners. These
[437] aluminum pots enter the exchange networks and ultimately
[438] reach virtually every village, as do machetes, axes, knives,
glass beads, and fishhooks.

291 Clothing for men is limited to cotton strings around
the wrist, ankles, knees, and waist; the foreskin of the
penis is tied to the waist string. Occasionally men wear a
string around their upper torso that crosses at both the
chest and the back, and a thick cotton belt, circular in
301 cross-section, around the waist. Scalps of wild turkeys are
237 worn as fore-arm bands, to which are tied clusters of feathers
[304] that dangle from a string a foot or so in length. Men per-
forate the lower lip and the ear lobes; they wear a small
feather in the lip and short pieces of arrow cane through
their ear lobes, occasionally embellished with colored
302 feathers. Both sexes cover their bodies with red pigment and
shave the tops of their heads, the latter being more common
[164] among the women. The men shave the tops of their heads to
[594] display their numerous scalp wounds, evidence of fierceness
in club fights.

291 Younger women wear a cotton waist band, thick cotton
armbands, circular in cross-section, a harness of cotton
strings on their upper torso that crosses between the breasts
and at the back, and single strings around their ankles and
[304] below their knees. Women pierce their ear lobes, the corners
[301] of their mouth, lower lip, and nasal septum. Arrow shaft

[P. XVii]

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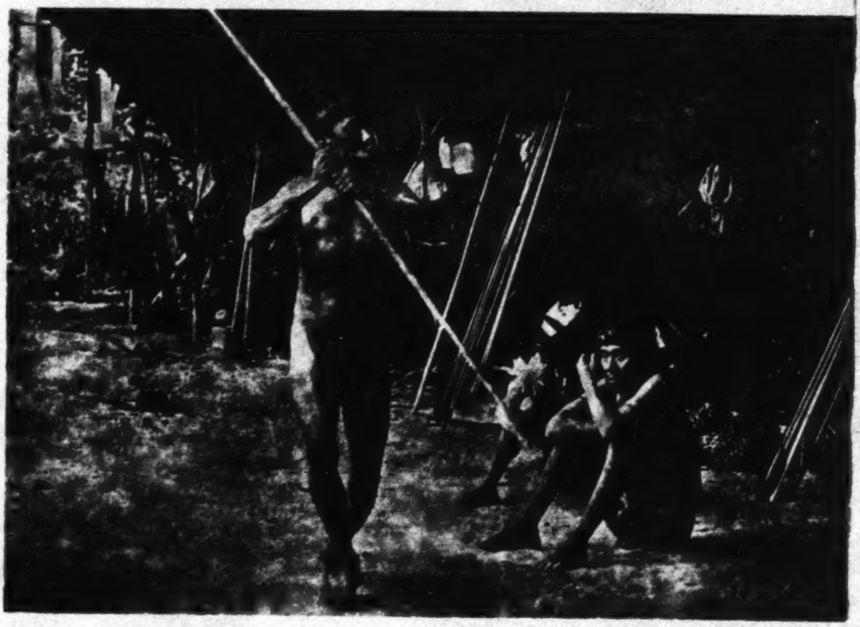
Visitors waiting in village circle for hosts to invite them "home" (described in Chapter 4).

Shaman (carrying club) chanting to Hekura (demons) while curing a patient (man sitting in foreground). Patient later died of malaria (described in Chapter 2).



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[P. xviii]

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Clays pots and banana (plantain) peelings; preparations for a feast (described in Chapter 4). Note quantities of plantains hanging up and on the ground.

Monou-teri men shooting at a wooden dummy (in hammock) in a mock raid. They left on the actual raid the next day (described in Chapter 5).

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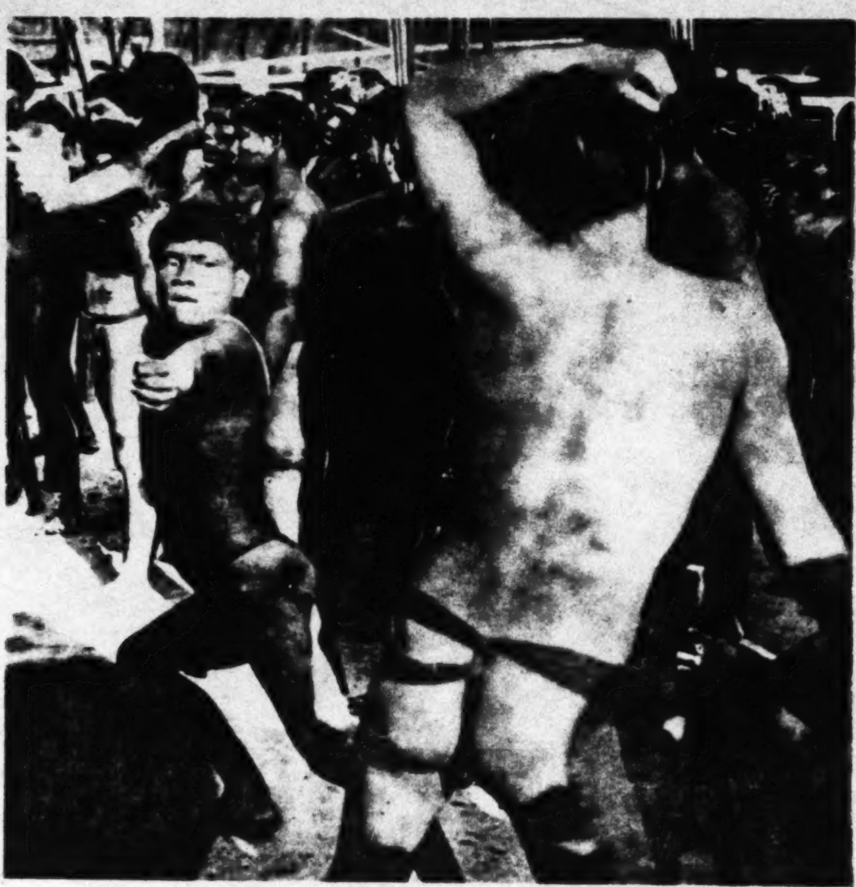

Fig. 1-1. Members of allied villages engaged in a chest-pounding duel which followed a feast

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way of life. The thing that impressed me most was the importance of aggression in their culture. I had the opportunity to witness a good many incidents that expressed individual vindictiveness on the one hand and collective bellicosity on the other. These ranged in seriousness from the ordinary incidents of wife beating and chest pounding to dueling and organized raiding by parties that set out with the intention of ambushing and killing men from enemy villages (Fig. 1-1). One of the villages discussed in the chapters that follow was raided approximately twenty-five times while I conducted the fieldwork, six times by the group I lived among.

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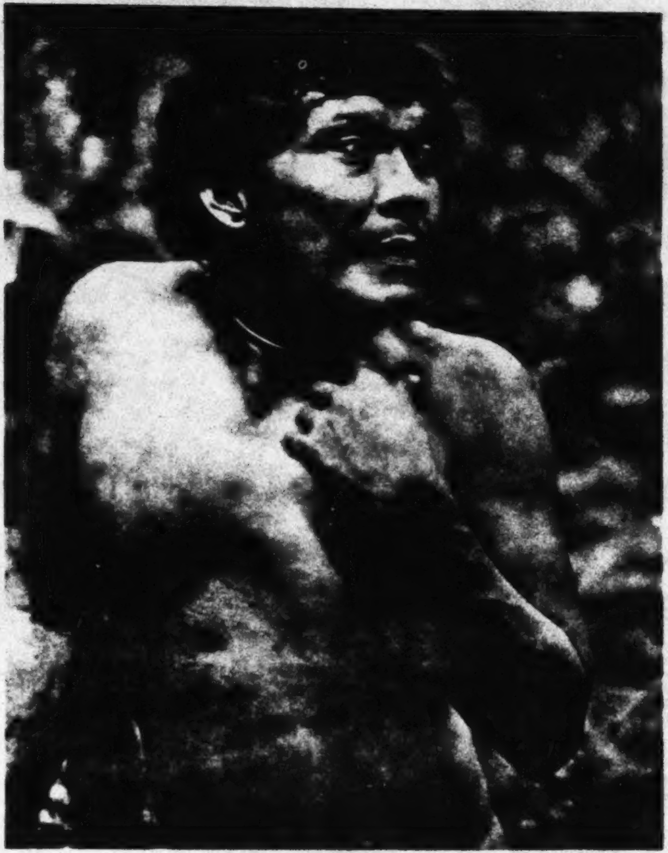

Fig. 1-3. Kąobawä, the wise leader, listens to identify a strange noise in the jungle.

I spent a good deal of time with these two men and their families and got to know 114
them well. They frequently gave their information in a way which related themselves 123
to the topic under discussion. We became very close friends. I will speak of them fre- 124
quently in the following chapters, using them as "typical" Yąnomamö, if, indeed, one
may speak of typical anything. I will briefly comment on what these men are like and
their respective statuses in the village.

Kąobawä is about 40 years old (Fig. 1-3). I say "about" because the Yąnomamö 115
numeration system has only three numbers: one, two, and more-than-two. He is the head- [802]
man of Upper Bisaasi-teri. He has had five or six wives so far and temporary affairs with [595]
as many more women, one of which resulted in a child. At the present time he has just [837]
two wives, Bahimi and Koamashima. He has had a daughter and a son by Bahimi, his
eldest and favorite wife. Koamashima, about 20 years old, recently had her first child, a
boy (Fig. 1-4). Kąobawä may give Koamashima to his youngest brother. Even now the [835]
brother shares in her sexual services. Kąobawä recently gave his third wife to another of
his brothers because she was beshi: "horny." In fact, this girl had been married to two

other men, both of whom discarded her because of her infidelity. Kąobawä had one daughter by her; she is being raised by his brother.

Kąobawä's eldest wife, Bahimi, is about thirty-five years old. She is his first cross-cousin (see Glossary). Bahimi was pregnant when I began my fieldwork, but she killed [847] the new baby, a boy, at birth, explaining tearfully that it would have competed with Ariwari, her nursing son, for milk. Rather than expose Ariwari to the dangers and uncertainty of an early weaning, she killed the new child instead. By Yąnomamö standards, [593] she and Kąobawä have a very tranquil household. He only beats her once in a while, and [837] never very hard. She never has affairs with other men.

Kąobawä is quiet, intense, wise, and unobtrusive. He leads more by example than [622] by threats and coercion. He can afford to be this way as he established his reputation [156]

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Fig. 1-4. Koamashima, Kąobawä's youngest wife, playing with her son, who is holding a tree frog.

he immediately came to see me. He greeted me with an immense bear hug and exclaimed, 115
"Shaki! Why did you stay away so long? Did you know that my will was so cold while you were gone that at times I could not eat for want of seeing you?" I had to admit that I missed him, too.

Of all the Yąnomamö I know, he is the most genuine and the most devoted to his [156]
culture's ways and values. I admire him for that, although I can't say that I subscribe to
or endorse these same values. By contrast, Kąobawä is older and wiser. He sees his own [829]
culture in a different light and criticizes aspects of it he does not like. While many of his peers accept some of the superstitions and explanatory myths as truth and as the way things ought to be, Kąobawä questions them and privately pokes fun at some of them. Probably, more of the Yąnomamö are like Rerebawä, or at least try to be.

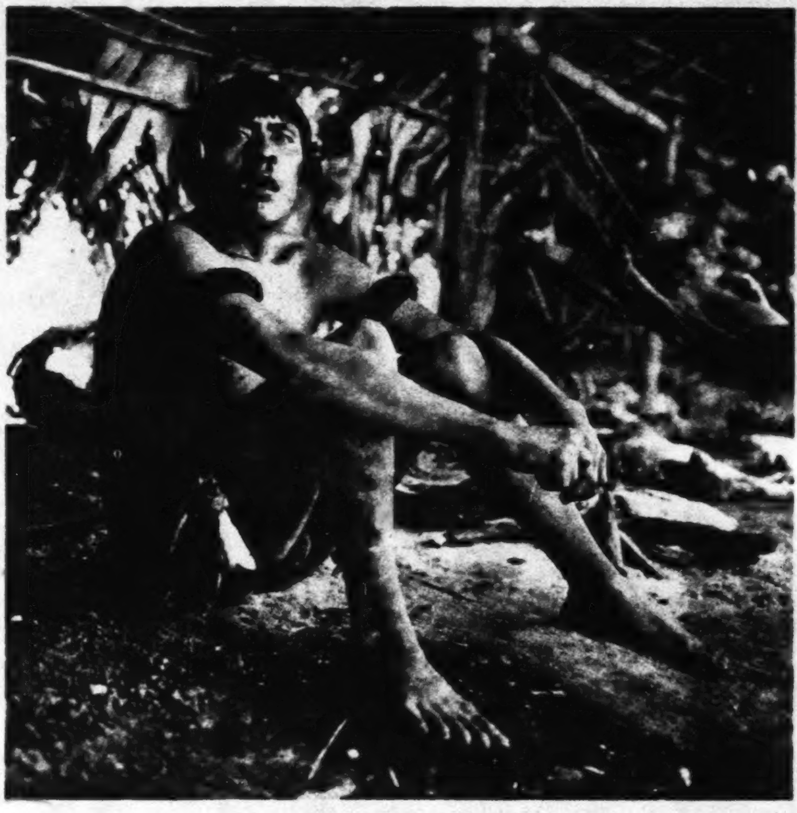

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Fig. 1-5. Rerebawä during an ebene *session sitting on the sidelines in an hallucinogenic stupor.*

"Razor grass"—a reed—also grows wild in the jungle. It is used by the Yąnomamö to cut their hair and to keep their tonsures cleanly shaved. A sliver of this reed is wrapped around the index finger in such a way that the sharp edge is exposed. The practiced hand can shave a head bald in a matter of minutes and with no more pain than would come from using a dull steel razor blade. This grass is also found around some of the villages, but appears not to be cultivated. 302 824 412

HALLUCINOGENIC DRUGS Another useful plant provided by the jungle is the *ebene* tree. The inner bark of this tree is used in the manufacture of one kind of hallucinogenic drug. The bark is scraped from the trunk after the exterior layer of bark is removed, or is scraped from the inside of the bark surface itself. This material, which is fairly moist, is then mixed with wood ashes and kneaded between the palms of the hands. Additional moisture is provided by spitting periodically into the pliable wad of drug. When the drug has been thoroughly mixed with saliva and ashes, it is placed on a hot piece of broken clay pot and the moisture driven out with heat. It is ground into a 276 [412]

Fig. 2-2. Women fishing in a dammed stream that has been poisoned by the juice of a wild liana. The poison is introduced upstream by the men, and the stunned fish are collected in baskets by the women. 226 137 415 516

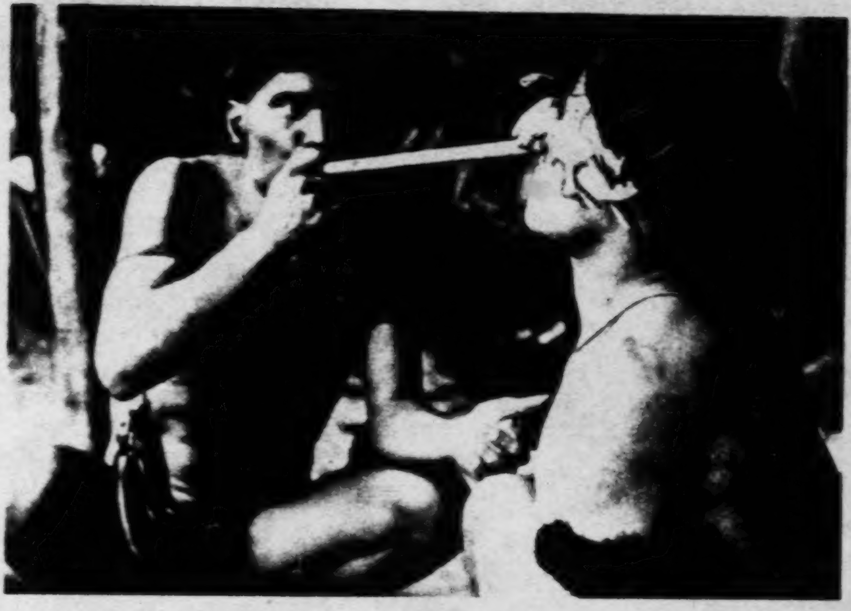

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Fig. 2-3. Men blowing ebene, a hallucinogenic drug, into each other's nostrils by means of a hollow tube.

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SHELTER All house materials likewise come from the jungle: poles, vines, and leaves. The Yąnomamö permanent house—*shabono*—is probably the most sophisticated manufacture produced by these people. Its construction requires considerable cooperation, planning, labor, and patience. Unfortunately, the *shabono* only lasts one or two years because the leaves begin to leak, or the entire village is burned to the ground in order to destroy the cockroaches, scorpions, spiders, and other vermin that infest the house. These can become such a nuisance that the roof is literally alive with bugs. Kąobawä's house was so badly infested at one point that the noise of thousands of scurrying roaches produced a constant, noticeable din in the village. Whenever someone got out of his hammock, the roof just above his head would suddenly come alive with roaches, disturbed by the movement below. As they scurried to safety, many of them would fall off, producing a shower of bugs on the occupants below. There were so many bugs that the increased activity above the moving person also increased the din, as if a sudden gust of wind had disturbed the dried leaves.

[462] Each individual builds his own section of the *shabono*. The man usually does all the heavy work of locating and fetching poles for the frame, placing them into the ground or tying them overhead, and weaving the numerous leaves into the roof thatch. The wife helps by gathering the leaves and vines used in the construction.

[351] The first step in building a new *shabono* is the selection of the site. This is usually some will-drained portion of the garden, such as a slight rise or hump.

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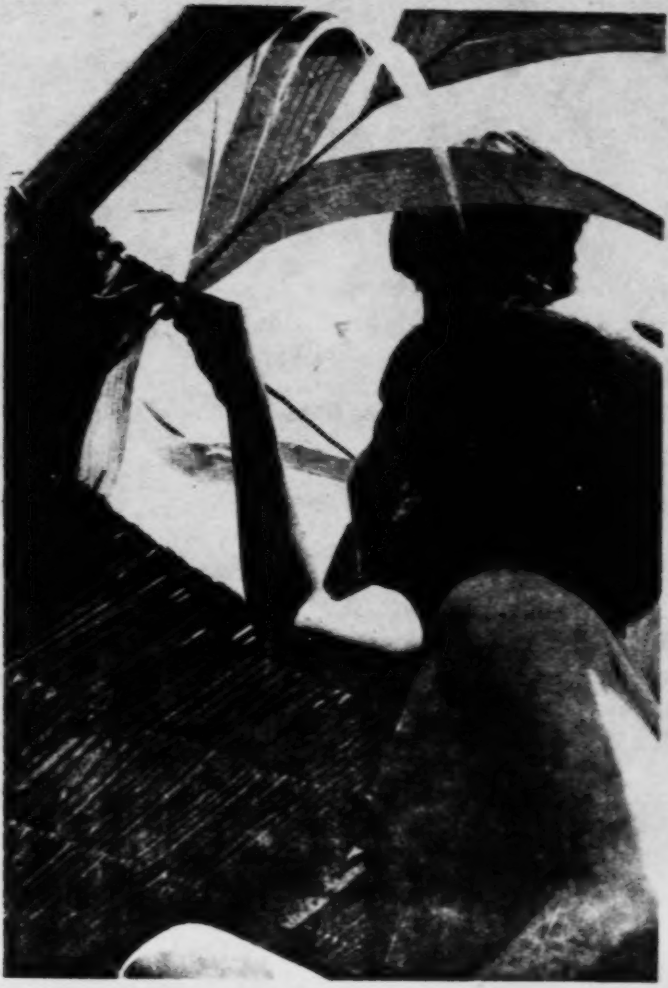

Fig. 2-3. Thatching a new roof with leaves.

The Indians do not like the wind because it blows the leaves off the roof. They do not tie the leaves down, depending on age and the rain to pack them into a homogeneous layer. They sometimes throw long sticks and brush on the roof to keep the wind from blowing the leaves away, but their major defense is magic: when a strong breeze comes up, the shamans rush to the center of the village, wave their arms frantically, and shout incantations to Wadoriwä, the spirit of the wind, enjoining him to stop blowing the leaves off the roof. 342 821 756 789

The Yąnomamö make another kind of shelter when they travel. It can be erected in less than a half-hour. A long front pole is selected and joined to two shorter back poles with two sticks. The roof structure thus fashioned is triangular in shape, about 342 484

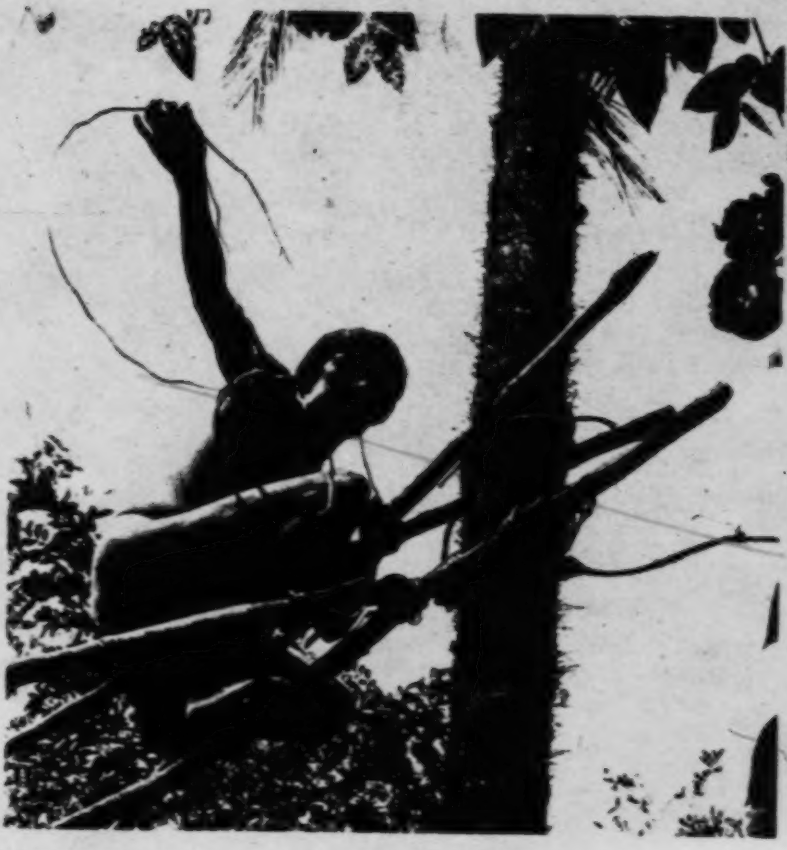

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Fig. 2-6. Rerebawä climbing a rasha *tree to collect the palm fruit. The tree has many sharp spines on it, and the Yąnomamö use an ingenious device made of crossed poles to climb the tree. The climber stands on one pair of poles and lifts the other pair up the tree. Then he climbs to the upper pair and lifts the bottom pair up. In this way the tree is slowly ascended, and no thorns get stuck in the body.*

The grubs are wrapped in small packages of leaves and placed in the hot coals to roast. They render down in the heat, yielding some liquid fat, which is licked off the leaves, and a soft, white body. I could never bring myself around to eat one, but an experienced missionary told me they tasted very much like bacon. But then I suppose that anything cooked in a smoky fire tastes like bacon. 222 231 252 262 [251]

The discarded seeds of palm fruits also get infected with much smaller grubs. The Yąnomamö break the hard seeds open with a rock, extract the grub, and prepare it in the above manner. 222 252 262

Some species of caterpillar are also eaten. They are not cleaned before cooking; the squirming insects are simply wrapped in leaves and thrown into the coals to roast.

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Fig. 2-7. Orusimi, Kąobawä's brother's daughter, making a hammock for trade with allies.

241 254 [829] [184] nant, while other plants allegedly cure the same evils. Kąobawä's followers do not cultivate many of these malevolent magical plants; they claim, however, that the "Waikas"[8] use them extensively and blow harmful charms at their enemies through hollow tubes. The failure of Kąobawä's group to use magical plants in this fashion is cited as a distinguishing feature that sets it aside from other groups of Yąnomamö.

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[101] [114] [8] The Yąnomamö are sometimes referred to in the literature by such designations as Shiriana, Xiriana, Guaharibo, and Waika. The first three terms are foreign words meaning "howler monkey" and have been applied to the Yąnomamö by their northern neighbors, the Carib-speaking Makiritare Indians. A good deal of the early information came from the quite unreliable accounts travelers obtained from the Makiritare. The term "*Waika*," however, from the verb *waikai*, is a Yąnomamö word meaning "to kill an animal (or man) that is already dying from a wound." Zerries (1964) used the term "*Waika*" in much the same sense that I am using the term "Yąnomamö." *Waika*, however, is very ambiguous and imprecise. For example, members of village "A" will assert that members of village "B" are "Waikas." If you ask members of village "B" if they are Waikas, however, they will deny it and say they are Yąnomamö, adding that the members of village "C" are Waikas. When you question members of village "C," you will get the same answer: The Waikas live in the next village, only Yąnomamö live here. Nevertheless, the term does have currency in the villages near the headwaters of the Orinoco River. One of my informants claimed that the blood of "Moon" (see the third section of this chapter) changed into Waikas, but they became extinct because they were so fierce. He also asserted that the Waikas were Yąnomamö.

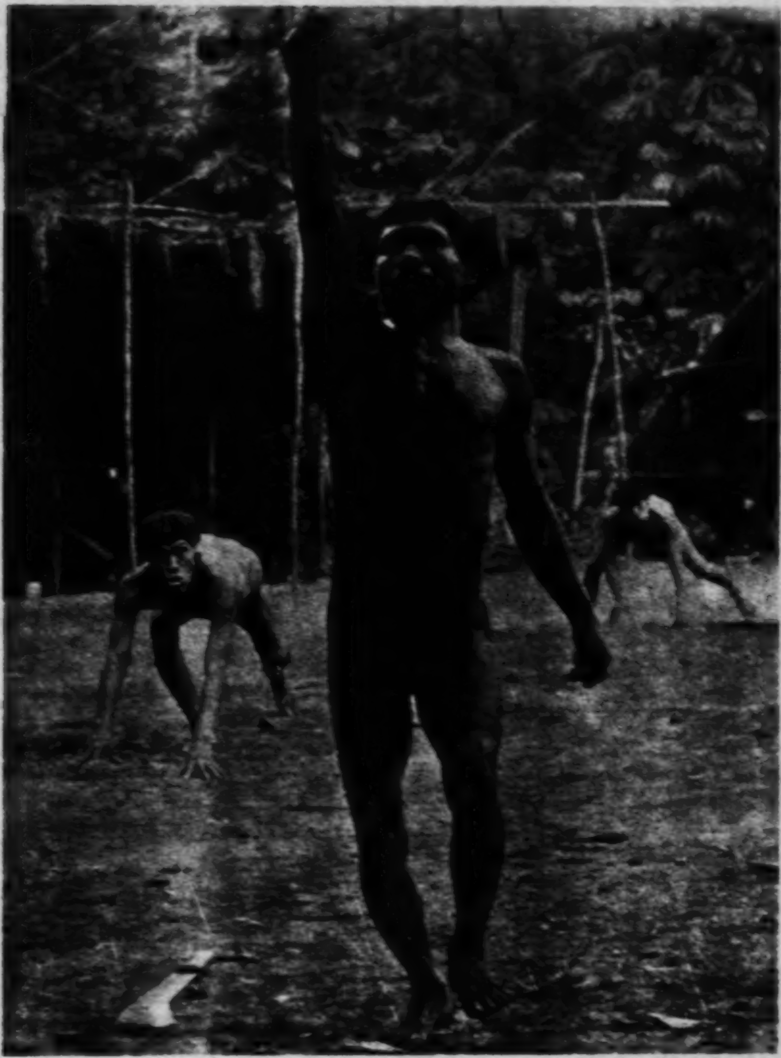

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Fig. 2-9. Three shamans in a drug-induced chanting to their hekura—*demons.*

The ashes of the deceased are consumed in order that the living will see their 769
departed friends and relatives in *hedu*. Members of allied villages show their friendship 266
to each other by sharing, in the ashes of particularly important people, in a very intimate 628*
act. Endocannibalism, to the Yanomamö, is the supreme form of displaying friendship and solidarity.

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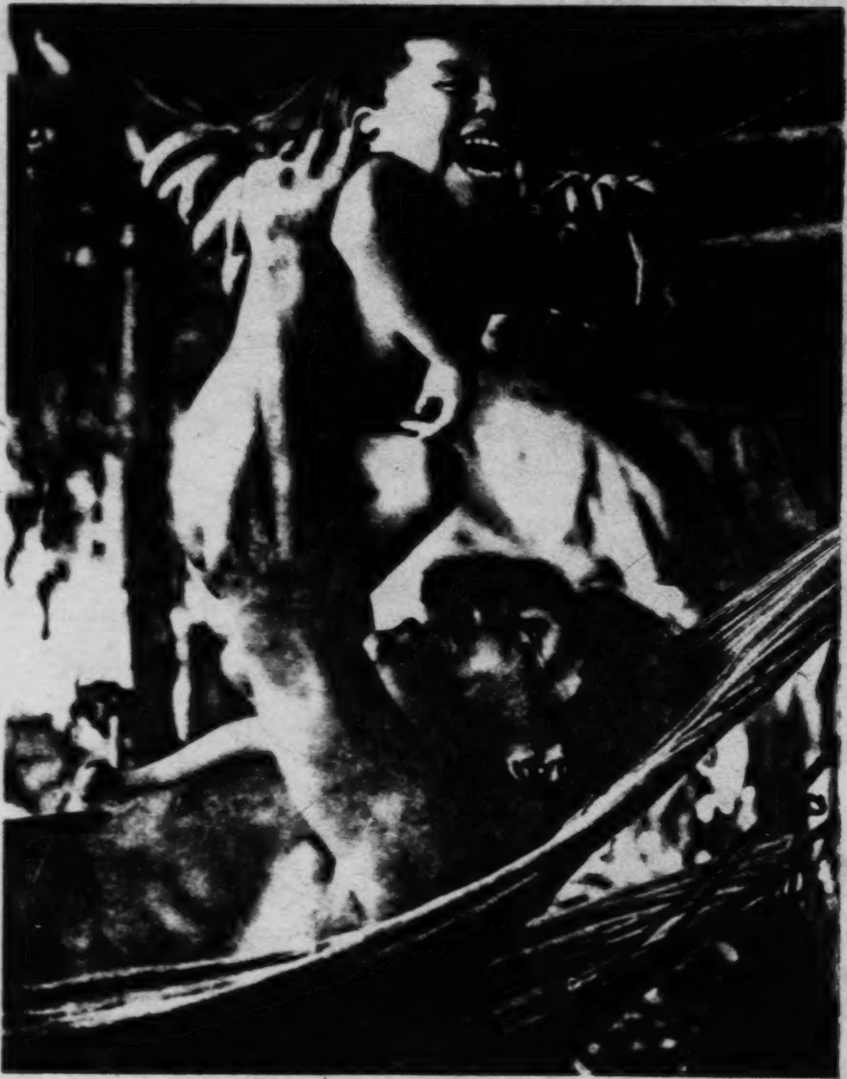

Fig. 4-4. Ariwari, Kąobawä's son, being fondled by his mother's brother. This is a very intimate kinship relationship in Yąnomamö society.

Women always bring their children with them, particularly younger children, so that if they are abducted, the child will not starve to death because of the separation of the mother. They are therefore concerned with the political behavior of their men and occasionally goad them into taking action against some possible enemy by caustically accusing the men of cowardice. This has the effect of establishing the village's reputation for ferocity, reducing the possibility of raiders abducting the women while they are out collecting firewood or garden produce. The men cannot stand being chided by the women in this fashion, and are forced to take action if the women unite against them.

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CHILD-ADULT DIVISION Despite the fact that children of both sexes spend much of their time with their mothers, the boys alone are treated with considerable indulgence by their fathers from an early age. Thus, the distinction between male and female status develops early in the socialization process, and the boys are quick to learn their favored position with respect to girls. They are encouraged to be "fierce" and are rarely punished by their parents for inflicting blows on them or on the hapless girls in the village. Kąobawä, for example, lets Ariwari beat him on the face and head to express his anger and temper, laughing and commenting on his ferocity. Although Ariwari is only about four years old, he has already learned that the appropriate response to a flash of anger is to strike someone with his hand or with an object, and it is not uncommon for him to give his father a healthy smack in the face whenever something displeases him. He is frequently goaded into hitting his father by teasing, being rewarded by gleeful cheers of assent from his mother and from the other adults in the household.

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Fig. 3–7. Ariwari, Kąobawä's favorite son, building a make-believe house while camping with his father. His "sister" (father's brother's daughter) looks on.

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drugs take effect. This usually lasts for an hour or so, after which the men bathe to wash 512
the vomit or nasal mucus off their bodies. Kąobawä does not participate in the drug- 276
taking, as he finds it unpleasant. Most of the men, however, do take drugs and enjoy [515]
doing it, despite the associated unpleasantries of vomiting and the pain that follows the [156]
blast of air as the powder is blown deeply into the nasal passages.

Whatever the men do for the afternoon, however, the women invariably search 512
for firewood and haul immense, heavy loads of it to their houses just before dark. [313]

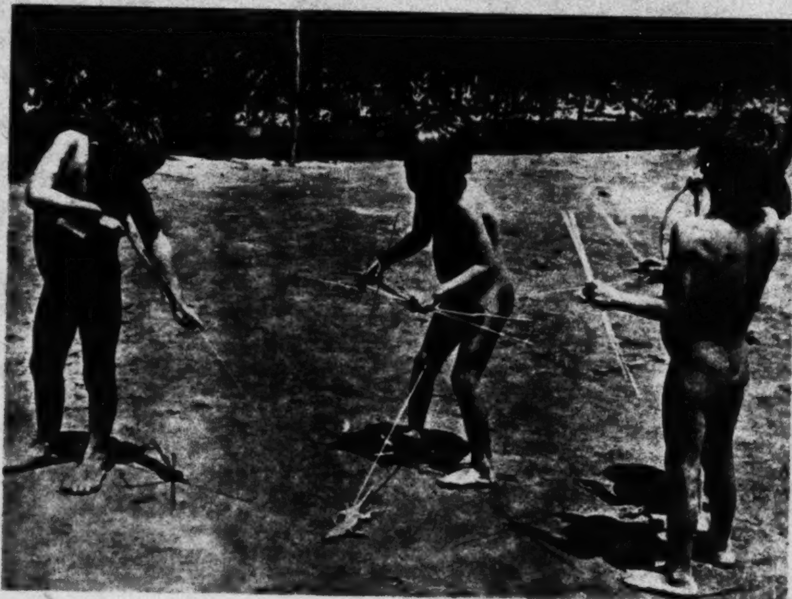

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Fig. 3-8. Boys shooting tiny arrows into a lizard they have captured. The lizard is tied to a string and allowed to run around the village while the boys gleefully chase it. Here they have wounded it and are about to fill it full of arrows.

The biggest meal of the day is prepared in the evening. The staple is plantains, 512
but frequently other kinds of food are available after the day's activities. Meat is always [264]
the most desirable food and is always considered to be in short supply. It is a happy [262]
occasion when one of the hunters bags a tapir, for everyone gets a large share of it. [224]

It is good to share meat with others. This attitude is expressed in the sentiment [879]
that a hunter should give away most of the game he kills. One of the obligations men
take very seriously is providing adequate quantities of meat for their wives and children.
They genuinely abhor hearing their children cry for meat; this calls into question their [224]
abilities as hunters and marksmen, both of which are associated with prestige. Rerebawä, [554]
for example, collected a large supply of game on one trip we took together. He gave it
all to his wife and children and to his wife's parents. At the evening meal he refused to

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duplicated by an equal effort on the part of Paruriwä, an obvious attempt by the latter to show that he was also a leader. Some of the visitors arrived early and were visiting in Paruriwä's house. He commanded his wife to prepare food for them, but the woman moved a little too slowly to suit him. Paruriwä went into a rage, grabbed an axe, and swung it wildly at her. She ducked and ran screaming from the house. Paruriwä recovered his balance and threw the axe at her as she fled, but missed. By this time Kąobawä had seen the axe go whizzing over the woman's head; he raced across the village in time to take a machete from Paruriwä before he could inflict much damage with it. He did manage, however, to hit her twice before Kąobawä disarmed him, splitting her hand with one of the blows.

On another occasion one of Kąobawä's brothers took too much drug and became violent. He staggered to the center of the village with his bow and arrows, while people ran frantically out of their houses to avoid being shot. Kąobawä managed to disarm him and hid his weapons.

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During the several club fights that took place while I was in the field, Kąobawä stood by with his bow and arrows to make sure that the fighting was kept relatively innocuous (see Fig. 3-9). In one of the chest-pounding duels, he managed to keep the fight from escalating into a shooting war by making sure that everybody in his group took a turn in the fighting. (See Chapter 4 for a description of the fight.) On this occasion

Fig. 3-9. Kąobawä (left, holding his bow) attempts to keep a club fight over a woman from escalating to shooting. The man in front of him has just been bashed on the head and blood is streaming down his neck.

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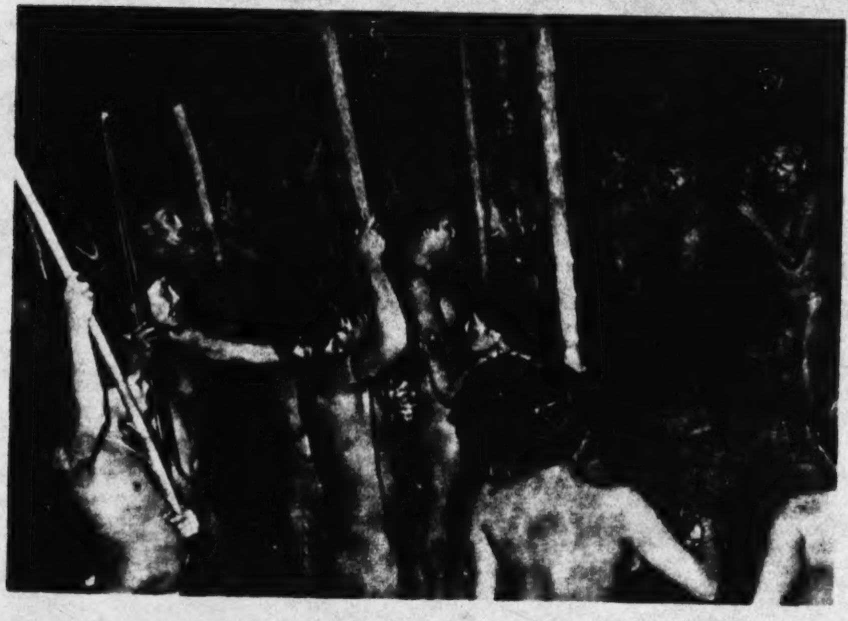

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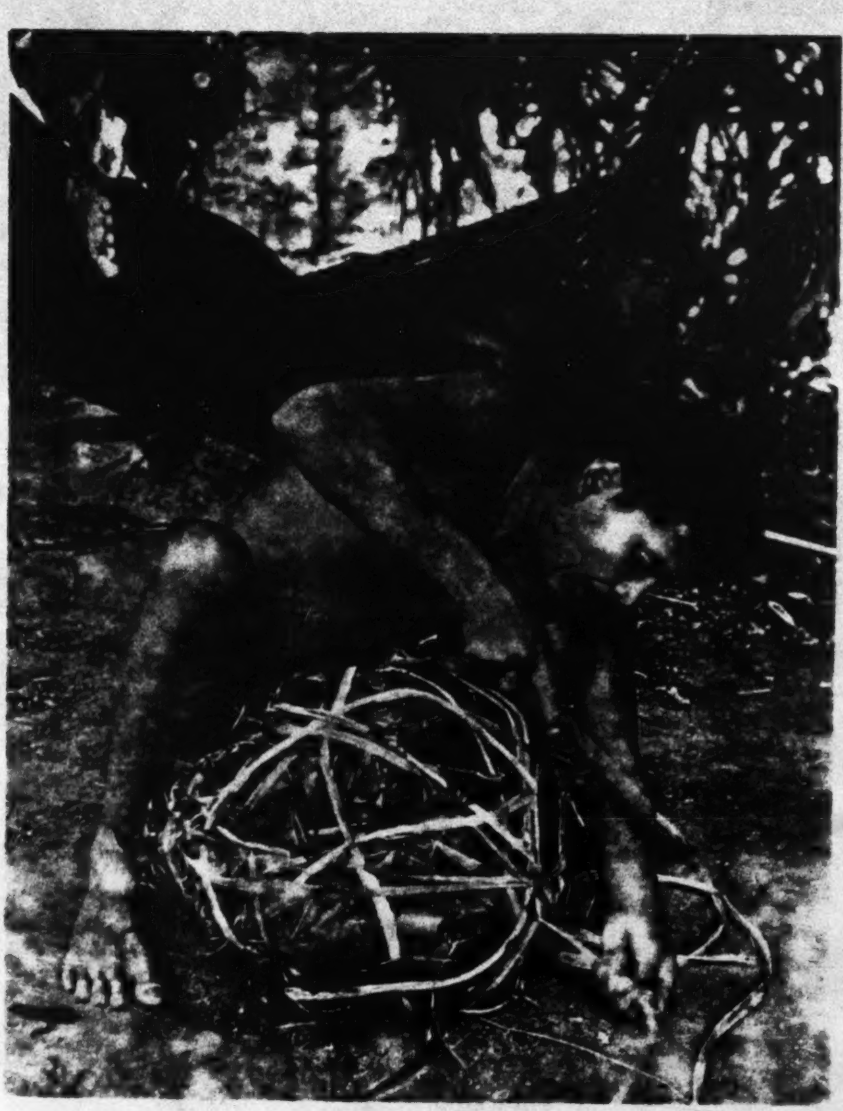

Fig. 4–1 Kaobawä, headman, unpacking some of the meat his hunters have just collected for the feast.

and guests that gradually died off as each group busied itself in preparation for the 628* 574 dance.

Shortly after noon a rumor circulated through the village that the visitors had [578] been raiding the gardens at night and stealing plantains. A number of people, particularly older men, were visibly upset by this new information, giving rise to another rumor that there would be a chest-pounding duel to set the matter straight. The guests had already worn their welcome thin by arriving uninvited a week in advance and by eating excessively. Their hosts were becoming angry with them, as it was all too obvious that they were deliberately taxing their hosts' patience; they were intimidating them.

The men of the host group had finished their preparations for the feast; they were [302] all painted in red and black, bearing colorful feathers. They had cleaned the debris from their houses, had finished hauling out the weeds they had picked from the village clearing, and had brought in quantities of food to give their guests. Now, it was time for them to take *ebene,* their hallucinogenic drug. They separated into several groups and began blowing the brownish-green powder up each other's nostrils with 3-foot long hollow tubes. As the drug would be administered, each recipient would reel from the concussion of air, groan, and stagger off to some convenient post to vomit. Within ten minutes of taking the drug, the men would be bleary-eyed and wild, prancing around in front of their houses, stopping occasionally to vomit or to catch their breath. In each group there would be one man particularly adept at chanting to the *bekura,* the mountain [776] demons, and he would soon take over the show, while the others retired to the sidelines in a stupor, green slime dripping from their nostrils. Should there be sick people in the village, the adept chanters—the *shabori*—would cure them by chanting, massaging, suck- [755] ing, and vomiting out the evil spirit that caused the sickness. Otherwise, they would [754] chant about other things, perhaps sending their *bekura* to enemy villages to eat the souls of children, or enjoining them to prevent their enemies from doing the same. Occasionally, one of the men takes too much of the drug and become violent. On this particular occasion, Shiimima, one of Kąobawä's brothers, grabbed his bow and arrows and ran to the center of the village. This caused a minor sensation for a moment, but one of the men managed to catch and disarm him, hiding his weapons so he could not find them. Things returned to normal again, and the other participants in the drug-taking began chanting to Shiimima to restore him to his senses. The chanting lasted for an hour or so, [515] and the participants, one by one, returned to their houses to clean up their paint jobs; most of them had smeared their careful work by vomiting all over themselves.

While the men were taking their drugs, the women were busy painting and decorating themselves with feathers and red pigment. The visitors, also, were busy at the same tasks, and the excitement of the feast reached fever proportions by mid-after- [301] noon. A few women were still busy finishing trade baskets, while Kąobawä's younger [302] brothers continued with the monotonous cooking of what seemed to them an endless [262] number of plantains.

Finally, an old man from the visiting group entered the village and marched unceremoniously across the clearing while the members of Kąobawä's group cheered him. He was too old to join the dancing, but too respected to wait behind with the women and children while the younger men put on their display. This was evidence that the visitors were about to send in their delegate to accept the feast invitation at Kąobawä's house.

giver would apologize for its defects. If it were a particularly poor item, just the opposite would occur; the giver would cite its not-so-obvious merits, while the recipient would draw attention to the conspicuous shortcomings. In every trade the hosts always feel as though they had been over generous, and the guests, after they depart, complain that they had not received enough. The trade was conducted in an atmosphere of efficiency, with very little argumentation. The hosts had concealed their choicest items and vigorously denied having some goods, and the guests had done likewise—sinking their prize bows in a river before arriving at feast, for example, and bringing an inferior one along in case one of the hosts asked for it during the trading. As this was the first time in some years that the two groups feasted together, there was nothing for either one to repay. Instead, the visitors asked for items *no mraiha*—to be repaid later—and the guests did the same.

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Fig. 4-2. Guests drinking boiled ripe plantain soup at a feast; the trough is made from the bark of a large tree, arapuri.

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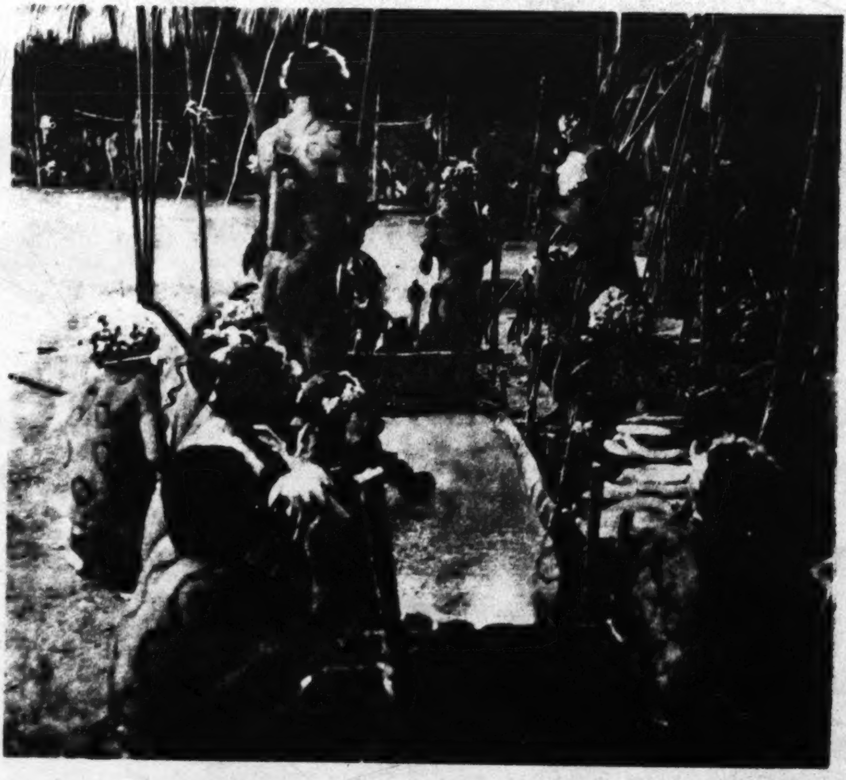

If such a duel is escalated, it usually develops into a side-slapping contest. Occasionally, 628* the combatants will sue for the use of machetes and axes, but this is rare. If 578 machetes are used, the object of the contest still remains the same: Injure your opponent 411 seriously enough so that he will withdraw from the contest, but try not to draw blood. Hence, opponents strike each other with only the flat of the blade when they resort to machetes.

In some areas the Yąnomamö modify the chest-pounding duel in another way: The opponents hold rocks in their clenched fists and strike their adversaries on the chest with an even more stunning blow. They try not to let the stone itself touch the flesh of the man they are fighting. Even without the use of stones, however, they are able to deliver their blows with such force that some of the participants cough up blood for days after having been in a duel.

Club fights represent the next level of violence. These can take place both within 578 and between villages. Most of the club fights result from arguments over women, but a 562 few of them develop out of disputes associated with food theft. Dikawä, a young man 685 about twenty years old, came home one day and discovered a bunch of eating bananas his 593 father, about fifty-five years old, had hung up in his house, above his hearth, to ripen in 578 the smoke. Dikawä, however, ate a number of them without his father's permission. 685 When his father discovered the theft, he ripped a pole out of his house and began clubbing 411 Dikawä. Dikawä armed himself with a similar club and attacked his father, precipitating a general melee that soon involved most of the men in the village, each taking the side of the father or son, as they saw fit. In brawls such as these, many individuals join in the fighting just to keep the sides even; if a group is badly outnumbered, they will be joined by friends whose sense of fairness stimulates them to take sides, no matter what the issue is. The net result of the above fight was a number of lacerated skulls, bashed fingers, and sore shoulders. The contestants try to hit each other on the top of the head, but when the fight gets out of hand, the participants swing wildly and rarely hit their opponents on the skull. More frequently, the blow lands on the shoulder or arm.

The clubs used in these fights are, ideally, 8 to 10 feet long. They are very wiry, 578 quite heavy, and deliver a tremendous wallop. In general shape and dimensions, they 411 resemble pool cues, but are nearly twice as long. The club is held at the thin end, which is frequently sharpened to a long point in case the fighting escalates to spear thrusting, in which case the club is inverted and used as a pike.

Most duels start between two men, usually after one of them has been caught *en* 578 *flagrante* trysting with the other's wife. The enraged husband challenges his opponent 684 to strike him on the head with a club. He holds his own club vertically, leans against it 411 and exposes his head for his opponent to strike. After he has sustained a blow on the head, he can then deliver one on the culprit's skull. But as soon as blood starts to flow, almost everybody rips a pole out of the house frame and joins in the fighting, supporting one or the other of the contestants.

Needless to say, the tops of most men's heads are covered with long, ugly scars of 164 which their bearers are immensely proud. Some of them, in fact, keep their head cleanly 302 shaved on top to display these scars, rubbing red pigment on their bare scalps to define them more precisely. Viewed from the top, the skull of an accomplished man of forty years looks like a road map, for it is criss-crossed by as many as twenty large scars (see

164 Fig. 5-1). Others keep their heads shaved for decorative reasons only, irrespective of the
302 number of scars they bear. Some do not shave their heads at all.

Club fighting is frequent in large villages, primarily because there are more opportunities for men to establish clandestine sexual liaisons without getting caught at it. Most affairs are, however, discovered. The larger the village, the more frequent the club fighting; and as fighting increases, so too does the probability that the village will fission and result in two separate groups. Most village fissioning I investigated resulted from a specific club fight over a woman, a fight that was merely one such incident in a whole series of similar squabbles.

The village of Patanowä-teri split during the last month of my first field trip. One of the young men took the wife of another because she was allegedly being mistreated by him. This resulted in a brutal club fight that involved almost every man in the village. The fight escalated to jabbing with the sharpened ends of the clubs when the husband of the woman in question was speared by his rival and wounded. The headman of the
[622] village, a brother of Kąobawä, had been attempting to keep the fighting restricted to clubs. When the husband's rival speared his opponent, the headman went into a rage and speared him in turn, running his own sharpened club completely through the young man's body. He died when they tried to remove the weapon. The wife was then given
[684] back to her legitimate husband, who punished her by cutting both her ears off with his machete.

[602] The kinsmen of the dead man were then ordered to leave the village before there
*[628] was further bloodshed. The aggrieved faction joined the Monou-teri and the Bisaasi-teri
[721] because these two groups were at war with their natal village, and they knew that they would have an opportunity to raid their own village to get revenge. The Monou-teri and the two Bisaasi-teri groups accepted these new arrivals; they were kinsmen and would actively prosecute the war against the Patanowä-teri. The hosts, of course, took several women from the refugees, the price a vulnerable group must pay for protection.

578 Spears are not commonly used by the Yąnamanö. A rare form of fighting, how-
411 ever, does involve the use of these weapons. It is a formal contest in the sense that the fight is prearranged and the participants agree beforehand to refrain from using their bows and arrows. Fights such as these take place when the members of two villages are not angry enough with each other to shoot to kill, but are too furious to be able to satisfy their grudges with chest pounding or club fighting.

411 The spears themselves are about 6 feet long, lightweight, and frequently painted
531 with red and black designs. They are merely peeled saplings sharpened to a long point at the heavy end. Each man makes several of them.

*628 The single spear-throwing incident that took place during my fieldwork started
578 over a woman. Her husband had been very cruel to her, so the woman's brother, the
721 headman of one of the villages north of Kąobawä's area, took her away from him by
593 force. This enraged his entire following, which was considerably smaller than that of the wife's brother. A club fight temporarily settled the dispute, but the smaller of the groups was thoroughly trounced by the followers of the wife's brother. They challenged their adversaries to a spear fight and notified them they were going to return with reinforcements.

The woman over which the dispute began then ran away from her brother and rejoined her husband. But the die was cast and the fight was now a matter of pride, the

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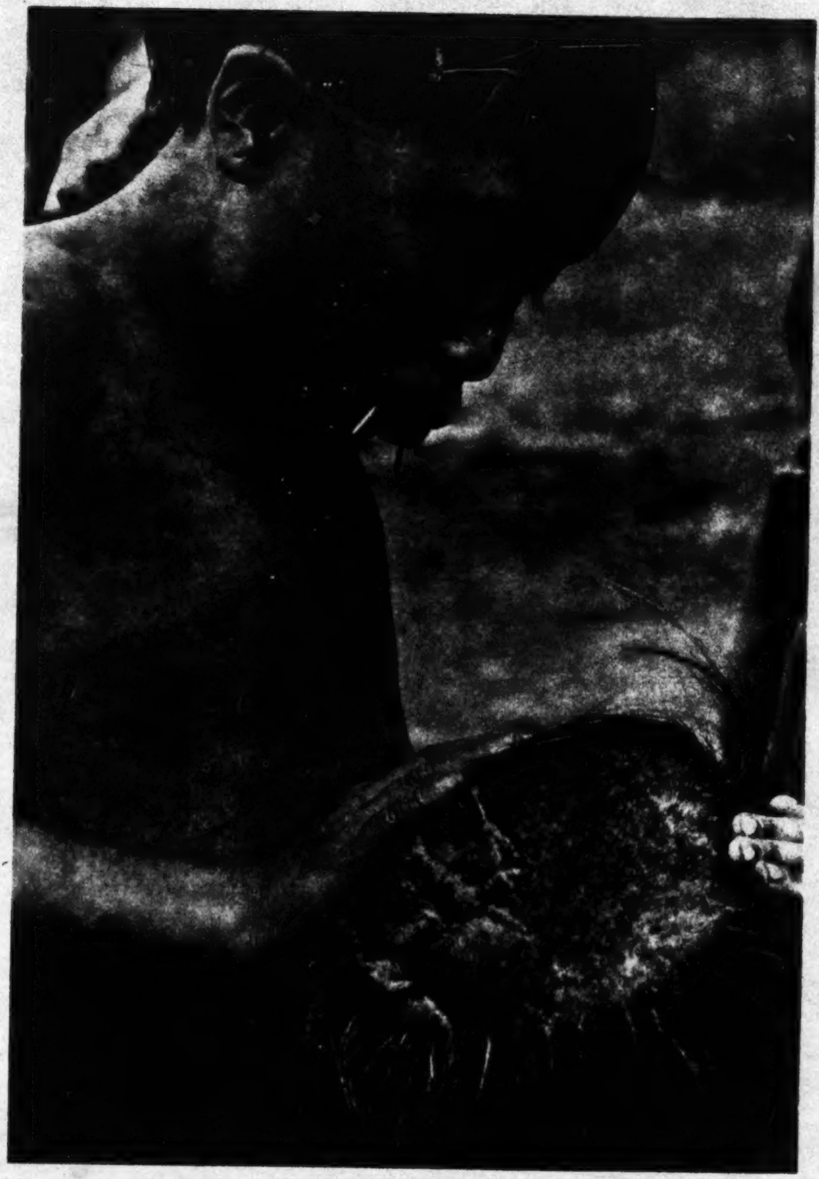

Fig. 5–1. Karöma, one of Kąobawä's daughters, picking lice out of her grandfather's battered head—his scars are from club fights. She wears decorative sticks inserted in the corners of her mouth as a beauty aid. These were inserted at about age five, together with one in the lower lip and another in the nasal septum.

726 and the men ran back to the respective houses, each making a noise—"Bubububububububu"—as he ran. When they reached their hammocks, they all simulated vomiting, passing out of their mouths the rotten flesh of the enemy they had symbolically devoured in the line-up.

[765] They retired for the night. Many of them wept and moaned, mourning the loss of their friend and kinsman, Damowä. At dawn the women went to the gardens and gathered large quantities of plantains. These were carried to the raiders, wrapped with their vine hammocks, and deposited outside the village for the men to collect as they marched in single file to war.

● [302] The men painted themselves black again (Fig. 5-3). Some even put on bright red
[291] loincloths which I had traded to them, as the warrior line-up is a spectacle in which the
[123] younger men can show off to the girls. The loincloths were left behind when the men departed. They tinkered with their bows and checked to see if the bowstrings were weak at any spot, sharpened their best arrow points, and waited nervously for Kąobawä to signal for the line-up to begin again. The *wayu itou* was repeated, each man marching to the center of the village and taking his place in line. This time, however, they did not sing the war song. They merely shouted, as they had done the previous night, waited for the echo to return, and marched dramatically out of the village. Their mothers and sisters wept or shouted last minute bits of advice as they left the village: "Don't get yourself shot up!" "You be careful now!"

The men picked up their supplies of food where the women had cached them
[622] and left for Patanowä-teri. Kąobawä had been complaining all year of severe pains in
[164] his lower back, abdomen, and urinal tract, and was in considerable pain when he walked.
[701] Still, he insisted on going on the raid, suspecting that the others would turn back if he
[703] did not lead it. The raiders had not been gone five hours when the first one came back,
a boastful young man, complaining that he had a sore foot and could not keep up with
the others. The next day a few more young men returned, complaining that they had
[157] malaria and pains in the stomach. They enjoyed participating in the pomp of the *wayu*
itou, for this impressed the women, but were, at heart, cowards.

[484] The raiders travel slowly their first day away from the village. They have heavy burdens of food and try to pace themselves so as to arrive in the enemy's territory just as their food runs out. They also attempt to reach a point in the enemy's neighborhood that will permit them to reach his village at dawn: far enough away so that enemy hunters will not discover their presence, but close enough to the village that they can reach it in an hour or so from their last camp.

[372] The men use fire only when they camp at a considerable distance from the enemy's
territory. As they approach their destination, they exercise greater caution. Their final
evening is spent shivering in the darkness, since they dare not make a fire to warm themselves.
Most of the raiders emphasized this, as sleeping without fire is considered to be
both dangerous and uncomfortable. The danger lies in the possibility of jaguar attacks,
but even more in the fear that spirits will molest the unprotected raiders. On the last
[703] evening the raiding party's fierce ones have difficulties with the younger men; most of
them are afraid, cold, and worried about every sort of hazard, and all of them complain
of sore feet and belly aches.

The raiders always develop a strategy for attacking the unwary enemy. They usually split into two or more groups and agree to meet later at a predetermined location

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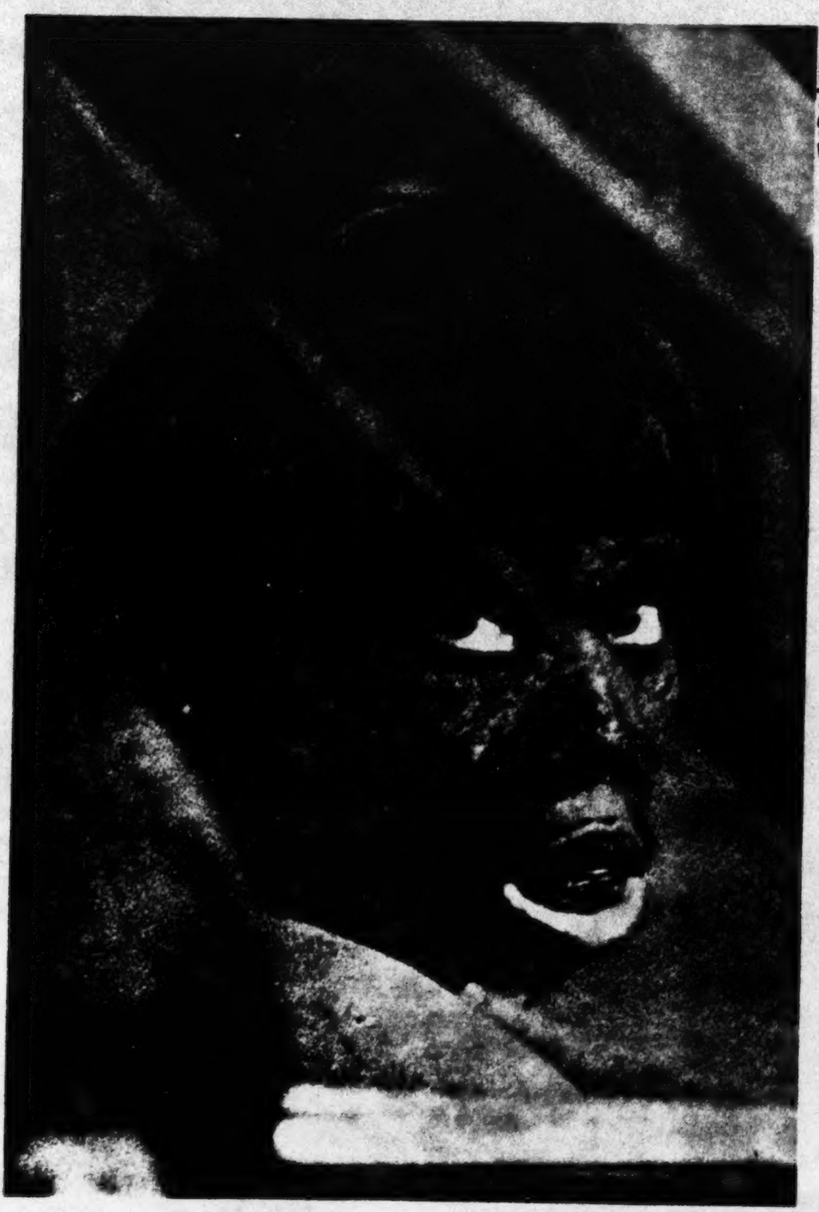

Fig. 5-3. One of Kąobawä's Shamatari allies, painted black, views the warriors lining up through his bowstring. He waits his turn to join them, a wad of tobacco protruding from his mouth.

at some point between their own village and the enemy's. These smaller groups must contain at least four men, six, if possible. This is so because the raiders retreat in a pattern. While the others flee, two men will lie in ambush, shooting any pursuers that might follow. They, in turn, flee, while their comrades lie in ambush to shoot at their pursuers. 726

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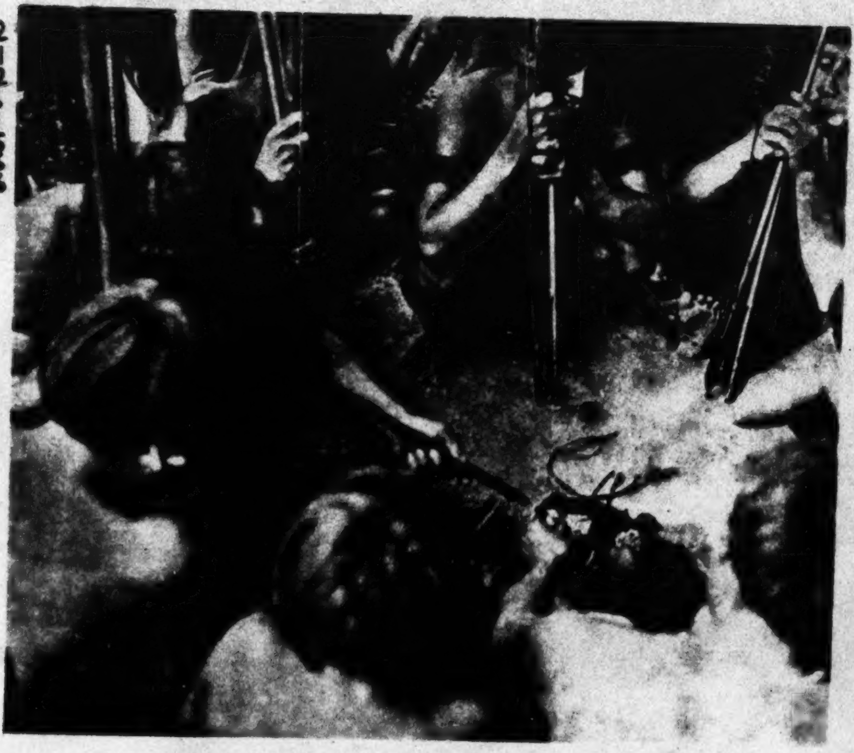

Fig. 5–4. Blowing drugs (ebene) *on the pulverized bones of Damowä, slain Monou-teri headman.*

726 located the enemy, but Paruriwä refused to go any further. When he turned back, so
701 did the entire party.

726 The Monou-teri and Bisaasi-teri raided against the Patanowä-teri six times while
114 I lived with them, and each time the preparations for the raid closely followed the description given above. The Monou-teri returned to their producing site only when the
722 jungle was inundated; only at that time could they exist without the support of their
*628 allies. The remainder of the year they had to take refuge with members of allied villages or expose themselves to the risk of being attacked by superior forces by remaining in their own producing garden.

726 The Monou-teri also raided the Patanowä-teri without aid from their allies. One of the raids was conducted near the end of the rainy season, and I was staying in their village at the time the raid was held.

[765] A special ceremony took place the day before the raid. The gourds containing the ashes of the slain Damowä were put on the ground in front of his brother's house.

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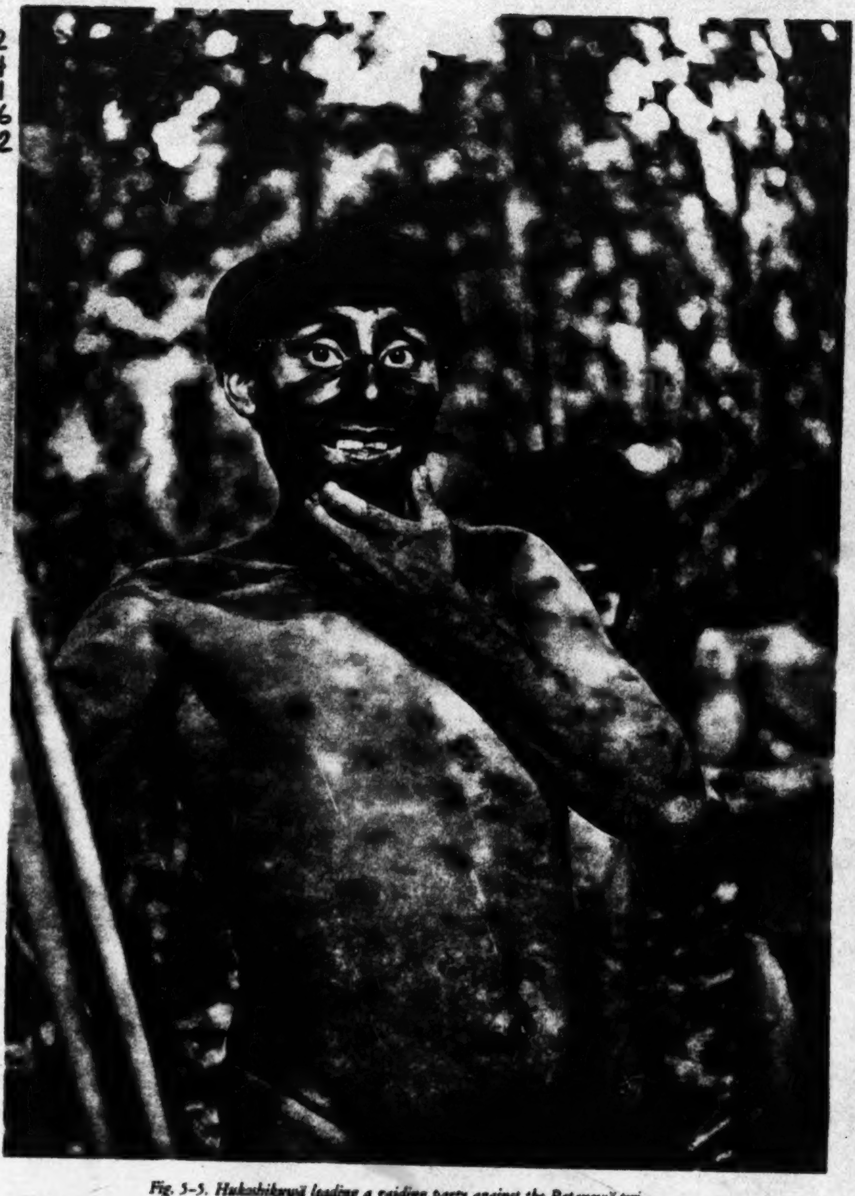

Fig. 5-5. Hukoshikuwä leading a raiding party against the Patanowä-teri.